

TE UA AND THE HAUHAU FAITH

IN THE LIGHT OF

THE UA GOSPEL NOTEBOOK

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the Degree

of

Master of Arts in History

in the

University of Canterbury

by L.F. Head

University of Canterbury

1983

Du
412
H432/5

CONTENTS

Abstract	(i)
Preface	(ii)
Abbreviations	(v)

PART I

THE UA GOSPEL NOTEBOOK

<u>CHAPTER:</u>	I	Introduction to the Text	2
	II	The Maori Text of The <u>Ua</u> <u>Gospel Notebook</u>	4
	III	Translation of the <u>Ua</u> <u>Gospel Notebook</u>	33

PART II

TE UA AND THE HAUHAU FAITH

<u>CHAPTER:</u>	IV	Maori Christianity Before The Hauhau	69
	V	Te Ua and His Message of Deliverance	88
	VI	The Biblical Boundaries of Te Ua's Thought	102
	VII	The Ceremonies of the Hauhau Faith	116
	VIII	Order, Morality and Law	140
	IX	War and Peace	152
	X	Conclusion	169
<u>APPENDICES:</u>	1	The Name of the Faith	178
	2	Sample Codes of Maori Laws	180
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY:</u>			186

ABSTRACT

The argument of this thesis is that the Hauhau faith founded by Te Ua was not a reversion to classical Maori religion, nor a synthesis of Maori and Pakeha elements. It was rather a biblical religion firmly within the Judeo-Christian tradition. The argument is advanced by an examination of Te Ua's message of deliverance, his theology, the organisation he devised for the faith, and his views on politics, war and peace. The evidence for the conclusions reached is principally to be found in the Ua Gospel Notebook.

PREFACE

This study began as an investigation of the Hauhau faith outside Taranaki, and my early research consisted of reading the hundreds of Maori manuscripts which are the secret treasure of the papers of the nineteenth century figures, Donald McLean and A.S. Atkinson. The McLean papers depicted a war creed, while the A.S. Atkinson papers gave an opposite impression. Discovering the nature of the faith began to seem a necessary preliminary and the matter was pursued in the Grey Collection, which holds the Maori manuscripts of the nineteenth century governor, and in the papers of Edward Shortland. This research did not resolve the question of whether Hauhauism was a war creed or a faith to comfort the oppressed in time of war, but it showed that Maoris of all political persuasions used the images and the morality of the Bible to support their positions. This it seemed clear that for many Maoris, Christianity was the basis of their attempt to order society and deal with the Pakehas. This made the contradictions in the evidence concerning the Hauhau in the McLean and Atkinson manuscripts seem a more urgent question - did Hauhauism arise out of this apparently majority position, or did it run counter to it?

The answer was sought in the Ua Gospel Notebook, which is a collection of the writings of Te Ua Haumene, the founder of Hauhauism. However, this Notebook is an extremely difficult text for the most part. This meant that a great deal of effort in this thesis consisted of trying to make sense of the text. The faith it depicted began to emerge as orderly;

for example, a note in the margin when the recorder had left a piece out was the clue that the prayers in the Notebook were a cycle, and this clarified the evidence of observers that when the Hauhau conducted their services around the Newspole, they had a book. However some of the meetings in the Notebook contradicted the orderliness of the rest. They seemed the work of a dreamer - rambling, disjointed and sometimes perverse. What made sense of the meetings in the Notebook was the study of the circumstances in which the Hauhau faith arose and functioned. A growing knowledge of the context enabled me to give a translation of the Ua Gospel Notebook which gives an impression of the orderliness and rationality of the faith as conceived by Te Ua Haumene.

The study of the context of the faith has meant that I have been unable to follow the translations of the Penfold text, which is a translation of an incomplete transcript of the Ua Gospel Notebook known by the name 'The Grey Corrections'. This name was apparently applied to Sir George Grey's transcript by his secretary but a comparison with the original text shows that the 'corrections' are merely comments, and often wrong. For example on page nine, Grey comments that the word tunoi means 'Tunoi, Te Ua's Hauhau name'. Not only is there no evidence for his being called Tunoi, which has no meaning in Maori, but Karaitiana's text make it clear that the word in question is te inoi, the prayer, and the passage reads: 'The prayer of the prophet Te UA Haumene to Jehovah' and goes on to give the prayer.

On the last page of his text Grey adds that Whare Matangi was an 'ancestor whose spirit [the Hauhau] had seen', and this misled Clark into thinking that the text records a 'tohunga-like' vision. In fact the text records a meeting at which new leaders of the faith were consecrated. The chief defect of the 'Grey Corrections' however, is that they omitted those parts of the Notebook which are in pencil and difficult to decipher, and the prayers and songs of the Service Book. The Penfold translation of the 'Grey Corrections' was the basis of, for example, Clark's attribution of pacifism to the Hauhau and his denial of structure in the faith. My translation of the original text suggests a different point of view.

I would like to thank the relatives and friends who kept on believing that I'd get there when I knew it was impossible. I am grateful to Mrs Kathy Doughty for typing the Maori text. In Dr C.N. Connolly I have had a supervisor who combines an austere judgement with the qualities of patience and understanding. He has needed them, and I would like to record my thanks.

ABBREVIATIONS

AIL	Auckland Institute and Museum Library.
AJHR	Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives.
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
AP	Auckland Public Library.
AU	Auckland University Library.
<u>DSC</u>	Daily Southern Cross.
DuHo	Hocken Library, Dunedin.
<u>HBH</u>	Hawke's Bay Herald.
<u>JPS</u>	Journal of the Polynesian Society.
<u>NZer</u>	The New Zealander.
NZJH	New Zealand Journal of History.
<u>TH</u>	Taranaki Herald.
<u>TN</u>	Taranaki News.
<u>WI</u>	Wellington Independent.

PART I: THE UA GOSPEL NOTEBOOK

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXT

The notebook of Hauhau writings in the Grey Collection held by the Auckland Public Library has become known as the Ua Rongopai, which translates into English as the Ua Gospel. In this thesis when reference is made to the notebook in its entirety it will be referred to as the Ua Gospel Notebook. The recorder of the notebook, Karaitiana, applies the name Ua Rongopai only to two chapters in which Te Ua's is the only voice. In keeping with his usage, these chapters alone will be referred to as the Ua Gospel.

The larger part of the rest of the notebook consists of reports of meetings at which laws were laid down, prophecies were announced, the people admonished and comforted, and plans of action were agreed upon. Karaitiana makes no judgement about the relative importance of gospel and meetings, if his orthography is any guide: he treats both to bold headings in fancy print.

A third and smaller body of material in the Notebook consists of an orderly sequence of songs and prayers. Because they appear to record the order of Hauhau worship, they are called in this study the Service Book.

The section of the Ua Gospel which Karaitiana headed Chapter I carries the date July 1864. Chapter II on the other hand, was written in 1863. The chapter headings are probably Karaitiana's addition to the text. The logic of the sequence is that Chapter I records the story of the foundation of the faith in Te Ua's vision of September 1862, while Chapter II deals with its internal organisation and with the instruction of the faithful. Both Chapters of the Ua Gospel are written in a neat hand which contrasts with the apparent haste with which the meetings were recorded. This suggests that the Ua Gospel contained the scriptures of the Hauhau and existed in written form before Karaitiana copied them down, and therefore there is no reason to doubt the 1863 date of Chapter II.

There is little chronology in the placement of the material of the Ua Gospel Notebook. Some of the meetings in

the Service Book are undated; they have been placed in their probable order of occurrence. The sequence is as follows:

UA GOSPEL: Ch I
Ch II

UA GOSPEL SERVICE BOOK

Meetings:

2 Feb 1865 - visionary speech, and laws
12 Sep 1865 - Te Ua's instructions
25 Oct 1865 - Address by Te Ua at Ketemarae
26 Oct 1865 - Address by Te Ua
(n.d.) Oct 1865 - Address by Te Ua
29 Oct 1865 - Te Ua's Laws
(n.d.) 1865 - Tito's Laws
(n.d.) 1865 - Meeting at Putahi
24-25 Dec 1865 - Meeting at Putahi

CHAPTER II: THE MAORI TEXT OF THE UA GOSPEL NOTEBOOK

UA RONGOPAI

Ko te tahi o ngā ūpoko. He kōrero tēnei no te tīmatanga o te manaakitanga a te Atua i a ia i mua ake. Koia tēnei ka tīmata nei i te tahi.

1 ŪPOKO

Taranaki, wāhi o Kēnana, Hūrae 8, 1864.

Ko te kapenga a Te Ua, te Poropiti tuatahi. No te marama o Hepetema, no te tahi o ngā rā, 1862, ka kawea te aroha o te Atua ki tōna iwi wareware, tū-kiri-kau. (Kīhai i mōhiotia te hinengaro o te tāngata, koia i kiia ai ko 'tū-ware-ware'.)

I reira anō ngā rā o te totohe me te whakateka i rot i te kōhiwi o te tāngata. I mea ahau kia tiakina te kaipuk me ōna utanga, a, kia kawea te rongo ki ngā rūnanga o te Hingiki Tāwhiao. Heoi, kīhai i paingia. Ko wai e āhei te whakarongo ki te iti o te kōhiwi nāna i hamumu?

No te rima o ngā rā o Hepetema ka puta mai ki a au t Anahera a te Atua. Ka mea ia ki a au kia noho puku ahau mo ngā hara a tōku iwi. Ā, kotahi tōku tino rā i whakamamae a ahau i a au anō. Ka tangohia ahau i roto i ngā ringaringa ngā tamariki kē, e kōrero teka nei ō rātou māngai, ā, he ringaringa matau teka ō rātou ringaringa matau.

I tēnei rā, e hoa mā, kua hoki ahau ki tōku mātamuatanga. Kua pēia ngā tauwi i runga i tōku tēpu.

Ā, kīhai i tirohia taku pēheatanga e taku iwi; i mahara hoki he pōrangi ahau. Kāhore! He mea whakamahara

e te Atua, kia kawea ki te nota o taku iwi, he mea kia whakatoia ai ahau e aku whanaunga. Heoi, kīhai aku mātua i mahara ki te pēheatanga o Pita: i uakina nei te tatau o te whareherehere e te Anahera a Ihowa, ā, wetekia ana ōna herenga. E toru hoki aku herenga ki te mekameka, e toru hoki ngā wetekanga a te Anahera.

A te mōhio ki tā rātou e mea ai, i reira anō tukituki ana ahau e rātou, whakahekea ana te toto hara-kore. E hoa mā, he mea tono e te Wairua ki tōna Anahera, kia whakakitea te oranga ki tēnei whakatupuranga, pērā hoki ki a Hoani; i whakakitea e te Wairua ki a ia i Patama. Nāna hoki i whakakite tēnei ingoa, a Te Karaiti, me ngā mea katoa kua kitea e ia. Ko taua Rura anō hoki kua puta mai nei ki a koutou, ā, e kawē nei anō i ēnei rā ki tōna iwi. Heoi, kia manaakitia te korōria o te Atua i Runga Rawa. Koia te kaiūhia i a koe ki te kapua.

Tēnei te mahi kūare a ō koutou tēina, te iwi kīhai nei i wehi ki te Atua, kīhai i whakaaro ki te tangata, e mea ana i roto i tōna ngākau, E kore ahau e whakakorikoria. Kāhore he hē mōku, ake, ake. Kī tonu tōna māngai i te kanga, i te hīanga, i te patipati: kei raro iho i tōna arero te nanakia. Ko te āhua hoki o tēnā mahi, e whakamanamana ana ki te nui o ngā taonga. Ka kūpapa iho ia, ka piko iho, kia hinga ai te hunga rawa-kore i ana meanga.

E hoa mā, kaua e pēnā. E ngā tauiwī, titiro atu ki Āperahama, ki tō matua tāne, ki a Āpera anō hoki, i whānau ai koutou. Nāku hoki i karanga.

KA MUTU.

Waiata mo te Ata.

Ko te tahi o ngā waiata: ko te waiata a Kapariera
Rura ki tōna iwi manaaki, korōria.

1 ŪPOKO

Kia whakakorōriatia koe, e Ihowa,

I te takiwā o te ao...

Hau te korōria:::

Hau te korōria....

Hau te korōria

Rire, rire, Hau...3

Mutunga.

Tangi: Kerei Pāta, mai me rire,

Tangi: Kerei Pāta, mai me rire,

Tangi: Kerei Pāta, mai me rire,

Tō rire, rire.

Tangi: Kerei Titi Koti, mai me rire,

Tangi: Kerei Titi Koti, mai me rire,

Tangi: Kerei Titi Koti, mai me rire,

Tō rire, rire.

Ka Hoanatia koe, e Ihowa

I te takiwā o te ao...

Hau te korōria...

Hau te korōria...

Hau te korōria...

Rire, rire, Hau...Z 3...

Ko te inoi a Te UA Haumene te Poropiti ki a Ihowa.
Koia nei te kaiwhakaputa korōria ki te Kēnana o Ingiki
Tāwhiao:::

Manaakitia, e Ihowa, t̄āu iwi
I whakatū-kiri-kauti[a] e koe
I te pāpatipu o Kēnana.
Hau te korōria..
Hau te korōria,
Hau te korōria,
Rire, rire, Hau:::

ŪPOKO

Ko te waiata aroha a Kaperiera Rura ki tōna iwi
manaaki, korōria:

1 O NGĀ ŪPOKO

Atua Pai Mārire,
Atua Pai Mārire,
Atua Pai Mārire,
Rire, rire, Hau!
Tamaiti Pai Mārire,
Tamaiti Pai Mārire,
Tamaiti Pai Mārire,
Rire, rire, Hau!
Wairua Pai Mārire,
Wairua Pai Mārire,
Wairua Pai Mārire,
Rire, rire, Hau!

2 O NGĀ ŪPOKO

Te karakia o te ahiahi.

Matua Pai Mārire,

Matua Pai Mārire,

Matua Pai Mārire,

Rire, rire.

Ko te karakia a te Anahera Ariki Mikaera ki tōna iwi
manaaki, kōroria:

2 O NGĀ ŪPOKO

Kōtarani Mikaera pāta ko te korōria niu oro Pāta Hema ko te
kōroria kōroria.

Tō..rire..rire..Hau!

2 ŪPOKO

Hānuere 13, 1863.

He kupu tēnei mo ngā minita, mo Te Waitere, mo Te Kooti, mo Parāone, mo ia minita mo ia minita e noho ana ki te motu: kia hoki pai mārire rātou ki tāwāhi - hoki pai mārire, no te mea kua tuarua te hamumutanga a Atua Mārire ki a au kia whakahokia tana iwi wareware, tū-kiri-kau, motu tū-hāwhe, arā, ki tana homaitanga ki a Te Āperahama, no te mea ko Te Iharāira tēnei.

Ko te kino, whakawaho rāua ko te mangu o tūāiho, no te mea Nāna mangu, Nāna mā, Koia kōhiwi kotahi ko Atua Mārire. Ko te taunu anake te hē, no te mea kāore te mā e āhei kia taunu ki te mangu, me te mangu ki te mā. Koia ko tēhea ko te āhua i Taranaki maunga, koia tēhea - mā, mangu? Ki te mā o te pēpa, ina tuhituhia nei e Hemi-kaka-tohu rāua ko Te Ao Katoa. Koia tēhea ko te āhua i te kōhiwi e moe nei ia? Marino rāua ko tīaho. Ko Hai Pēti tēnā, ko Wahine Māori. Koia Pōtiwhā tēnā.

E mea ana koia koe, kei te haurangi ahau. Ki ahau, ko tā wai kai he waipiro e kai ai? He kai anō te Kōhiwi. Ma te tāngata te hē. Koia Kōhiwi te āta kai mārire.

E kiia nei e te akoranga whakatewhatewha i waiho ai ngā kupu whakarite e Atua Mārire hei ārai atu i a Atua ma te akoranga horihori. Koia ko minita rātou, ko monita, koia ko au nei anō i ngā tau i mahue atu i tua o te whiu hoari. I te tau mutunga o taua whiu ka tīmata te whawhai kōrero. Ko te tino whawhai ia e mate ai te motu nei, mei kore te iwi Taranaki rāua ko te iwi Ngātiruanui hei hāpai i te mana

Kīngi i runga i te mārohirohi o te hamumu. Koia Kōhiwi ko aukati e huaina nei ko Te Puru o Houtaiki rāua ko Tū-tangata-kino, i te whakatokerau mārire.

Whakaāe, e iwi Pōrewarewa, ki te kimi ritenga o Atua Mārire hei āwhina i tōna iwi wareware, tū-kiri-kau, ko motu tū-hawhe. E hoki ki muri, ki te wā o ngā kaumātua, e tupu ai te tāngata, ā, huri ngā turi ki te kōhamo, kātahi ka mate te tāngata.

Ko tā Atua Mārire ia ritenga. Ko ngaungau anake te hē: ko tahuri ake ka kai anō i a rāua. Ko tēnā-whakaherea atu! Engari ngā painga atawhai - te waiata mārire, te haka mārire, te oriori mārire, te tā moko mārire, te tā ngutu mārire, kauae mārire - koia ā hui. Ka rapua Hai Peeti - ko ngā tāngata Māori rāua ko wahine Māori.

Na, tētehi mea hei whakarere mākutū. E te tangata e mau ana ki te mākutū - whakarereā atu! He rongopai mārire tēnei, he hamumu pai atu, kia mahuetia tērā mea, kei kī koe no Atua Mārire te hē. Mehemea e kaha ana hoki tō mākutū ki te hoariri, Kōhiwi ko te Wairua e pai ana kia mau koe ki te mākutū. Tēnā hoki ra, kei whanaunga anō ka kaha ai! Ehara tēnei whakaaro i a Atua Hanga Pai Mārire; whakarereā atu, mahue pai mārire!

Whakamutua te whakatete whenua a kōrua ko tō tuakana, ko tō matua rānei, no te mea no kōrua tahi. Kāpā, he Pākehā - āe!

Mo tāngata o rūnanga Kīngi ēnei hamumu; no te mea ko mana nui te rūnanga, ko mana nui o ai aua; koia ka kite. Me pēhea ka kite ai? Me kimi, me rapu ki te aha? Ki te

mana o Atua Mārire. Ka kite ai a Tangata Wareware rāua ko Rūnanga Wareware e takahi nei i a Atua Mārire rāua ko tana tangata i whakawahi ai.

E kore e mate te tāngata ki ngā taonga nunui; ma te taonga ririki ka hinga ai.

Heoi taku kupu.

'Ko te manawa nui.' Tuatoru ana hokinga ki taua kupu. Kia rongo: kua rawa te iwi e kai natu mai ki a au; te take ra, he tahuri iho ngā pēhea na ki a rātou. Kāore e kite te tāngata i tōku āhua. He ao nei ahau, he katoa, he mano no te tāngata.

Kua motuhia hoki ngā kaipatu tāngata.

Ko au i a Kahu-ki-te-ao.

Kia rongo te iwi me te motu ki ēnei tohutohu e ako ana i a koe. Kei taunu, engari kia tahuri ki te mea māu, arā ki te hī o te motu. Ko patu, ko patu, engari kia whakaiti te whakaaro ki raro o te Atua me ana tauira.

KA MUTU.

He kupu ma te ngākau mahara: he mea whakaaro nui ki te ngākau mahara te tukunga iho o ngā whakatūranga o namata. E kore e takoto kau; e hura ana ki ngā kanohi o te ngākau tohe. Tirohia atu te whakataukī nei: tohea pūtia. Tērā atu tētahi: ma te inoi anake, ma te noho puku.

He kupu ako ki te iwi tapu o Atua Hanga: kua e tirohia ngā rā o te kūaretanga. Heoi.

Torona atu ō koutou ringaringa ki te takiwā o te ao. Tērā e anga mai Ōna taringa, ā, e tohu i tana iwi ki ngā totohe i roto i te pā. Kei tukua te iwi ki ō rātou tākaro; kei puta te kawa i roto i a koe. Heoi anō, ki a koe te

inoi atu ki tō Atua kia tohungia tana iwi, kia pēhia te ngākau hae o ngā hoa tautohe.

Ki te tuarua o ngā iwi: kia pērā anō koe te haere i ngā huarahi o ngā Pou-tē-uea. Kia wahangū ki ngā ngaungau, kia pēhia i te ngākau tohe, kia inoi tonu ki te Atua, kia whai i te aroha ki te rapu i te oranga. Tirohia atu ngā pepeha o namata: rapua he oranga mo Iharaira, ā, noho koe i runga i te rangimārie. Kei huna anō hoki te mea pai i roto i a koe; kia kōrerotia ki tō whakaminenga tāngata. Kei tohe nui ki tō Atua; kei huna te mea tapu ki a koe. Kia rongu ki tāna e mea ai; kia wai i muri i a ia.

He kupu ki te tuatoru, arā ki te iwi Pōrewarewa: kia whakapuaki mārire koe i te kupu oha ki tō iwi; no te mea kei a koe te māramatanga. E takoto ana tōu whakataukī: he rama tō kupu ki ōku waewae, he māramatanga ki tōku ara. Kia tino rapua anō hoki te mea tapu e kiia ana ki a koe. Kia ruia ngā hua o te rākau i whakatōkia ki a koe. Kia mā tō whakaminenga. E kohi, e tatau, e rui. Kia mahia anō hoki ngā mea i akona. Ki a koe te Pōti me ngā whakaaturanga a te Wairua ki a koe, kia tomo mai ai tō iwi i raro i a koe. Kaua e kopia; me whakatuwhera tonu, ahakoa pai, ahakoa kino. Taku hiahia, kia mahia ngā mahi o te māramatanga. E haere ake nei te tāima e kore ai e āhei te tāngata te mahi.

He kupu ki te tuawhā, arā ki ngā kaiwhakaako o te ture: kei waiho tō koutou māiatanga. Kua oti hoki koutou te hoko ki te wairua me te ngākau, e kore e hē. Heoi, kia tohe anō kia waiho te kotahitanga o te Wairua i te rangimārietanga. Tirohia te whakataukī a ō koutou tūpuna, ā, ma koutou hoki āiane. Ka tohe ahau ki a koutou,

e hoa mā, ki ngā mahi tohu a te Atua. Ā, kia māia anō te tomo i raro i tōna ataranga. Kia whai kupu anō i roto i ō koutou māngai, anō he tōmairangi e whakamākūkū ana i te tarutaru hou. I reira anō ka māia tana kupu, ā, e kore e maroke i te raumati tō kupu ki te matua-ā-iwi. Kaua e māngere ki te mahi; kia toa te wairua kia rongo ki te Ariki.

He kupu kotahi ki ngā kaiwhakawā: ko tēnei kupu, nā, kei whakahaere hē koutou, ina whakarite whakawā. Kaua e titiro ki te kanohi o te rawa-kore, kaua anō hoki e whakahōnoretia te kanohi o te nui.

Te kupu ki a Matua-ā-iwi: kia rongo ki ngā kaimahi i a tātou. Kaua anō hoki e whakatoia te mea i puta mai i ō rātou māngai. He hunga tērā i wehea mo te kī tapu. Kua oti mo rātou te kōrero oha a te Ariki: kei runga i aku pononga taku manaakitanga, ā, ma rātou ka tū ai taku iwi i te iwi.

Kia rongo ki te ture kia whiwhi ai koutou ki te oranga tonutanga, kia kite ai i ngā rā pai. Kia tū matakū i te aroaro o tō tātou Ariki. Kia pai anō hoki ki ō tātou rama; kia rongo ki tōna e mea ai. Kei turi ki ngā monita; kia tū tapatahi i ō rātou aroaro. Kia pēnā tātou me te wāina hua i ngā taha o ngā whare, ki ngā māhuri orewa hoki e karapotia nei i te tēpara.

Me āta kōrero mārire, e ai ngā ritenga pai mārire ngā ritenga kūare o ngā iwi nei. Te Pou-tē-uea me te Tūku, ko te tautohe roa ki te kaihangā kia uia mea iti, mea rahi. Me tango; māu e hanga. Ka kite koe i te hē, i te tika, kawea atu anō ki a ia. Kaua e riri nui ki te whakahē i tana e mea ai, kei huna ki a koe ngā mea papai no te rangi.

Te iwi Pōrewarewa: kei takahi i te mātau o mua, kei matapōtia koe; engari kia rongo ki tāna e mea ai.

Ki te iwi monita: kei hapa tā te Ariki i tohutohu ki roto i a koe. Ma tō hingengaro aroha e tū wheta ai ki a koe.

Ki a Matua-ā-iwi katoa: ko te whakatete te pūtake o te hapa. Kua whakahāwea katoa ki tō Atua. Kua mea anō he atua teka. Kei mea ra tātou no te Atua te hapa. Kāore: na te whakatoi ki ngā kupu a te Atua. Ā, ka rapu nei tātou i te whakahāwea. Me utu koia tōna aroha ki te aha kua puta mai nei ia, arā ma te manaaki. Kaua e hapa tētehi o āna e mea ai. Heoi, meingatia katoatia ki te hiahia.

Kua kitea e ahau i taku moenga tētehi whakakitenga. Anō he kapua nui e tū ana, ā, whakapōuritia ana te rā me tōna māramatanga. Ka rongo ahau he reo e karanga ana i te takiwā, Auē, ka rite taku iwi ki ngā whetū e taka iho ana i ngā rangi, ā, e kore e hoki atu ki reira anō. Ko tāku i whiriwhiri ai kua whakakawangia. Heoi, kia māu ki tō kōhatu, kei rite tōna kupu e mea nei. Ma te rongo anake ka mau ai. Ka tohungia ai tēnā anō me tātou ki ā tātou tamariki. Ma te rongo i kiia ia he tamaiti nōu. Ā, ki te kore, ka whiua, pēnā anō i a ia e whiu nei i a tātou. Heoi, ka waiho tēnā whiunga hei mau mahara ma te iwi. Kia mārama ki ngā pānga mai o te whiu e ako ana i a koe; ki te kore e rongo, ka nuku atu i tēnā whiu.

Tirohia atu tō pūtake i whakaorangia i roto i te korenga. Kei whai anō kia tino tae ki ēnā rā - i a Kereria, i a Hamahona. Ā, ka waiho ēnā rā hei āwangawanga i roto i a koe.

He nui anō taku pōuri nōku. Kīhai i rongo ki te ture, arā, kia tomo kopa ki te ora, turi ngongengonge rānei. E mea ana te kūaretanga, ma te hamumu anake o te māngai, aua te hinengaro o te iwi. Kia kaha ki te whakapono, kia meinga ai koe he kāhui kotahi i raro i a ia.

Titiro atu ki tō hoa tohe: na te aha i tū ai? Na te rongo ki te ture, na te manaaki ki ō rātou kaiwhakahaere. Koia tēnā te ture o tō tātou Atua - ko te manaaki, ko te whakarongo. Kei rite tātou ki te tarakihi, e ngahau nei i te raumati, ā, i te makariritanga kua kāhore. Kei rite anō hoki ki te purapura hua-kore, e kore nei e maharatia e ngā kaiwhakatō. Heoi, kia whai hua i ngā tau maha, ā, tērā e titiro mai a te kaiwhakatō ki te hua o ana purapura, ā ka hari, ka koa anō hoki a ia e noho ana i ngā rangi.

E kore ra nei tō āhua e meinga hei kaiwhakatoi mo te hunga wairangi.4. Ā, ka rite rātou ki te tarutaru e ngingio noa iho nei i te raumati. Kia whakapae tō pai i te hunga e ninihi kē nei i a koe, ā, ka waiho hei wāhi koa ki roto i a koe. Koia e akona nei kia mau ki to taonga hou i heke iho nei ki a koe. Mā te aha, koia, e waiho ai o kaiwhakapae hei apa mōu? Ma te kaha ki te patu, ma te māngere, ma te whakatoi, ma te taunu, ma te whakaaro-kore? Kāore: ma te nui anake o te kaha ki te karanga ki a ia. Kia anga nui mai ki a mātou, e Ihowa!

Na Karaitiana Te ?Korau

E whakaatu ana ahau i a koe i runga i te ingoa

O Atua Hanga Pai Mārire,

O Atua Tamaiti Pai Mārire,

O Atua Wairua Pai Mārire,

Rire, rire.

Ko Pānui: Pōrini hōia tē ewhe ērā, teihana!

Tā te munu tāna niu hīngiki, teihana!

2 rauna, hanatī!

Māu, e Ihowa, e hōmai ngā wini ki runga ki ō pononga katoa.

Māu anō hoki e whakaū, otia aua i tāku; engari hei tāu,

e pai ai,

Tāu te korōria,

Tāu te korōria,

Tāu te korōria.

He inoi moenga: E Ihowa, tohungia ahau i ngā wāhi katoa o

Kēnana,

Tāu te korōria,

Tāu te korōria,

Tāu te korōria,

Rire, rire.

2. Moenga: E Ihowa, tēnei tō pononga te inoi atu nei i

runga i te wehi ki a koe,

Tāu te korōria,

Tāu te korōria,

Tāu te korōria,

Rire, rire.

Mo te ata: Nāu au, e Ihowa, i tohu i ēnei pō kua hōmai nei
e koe ki tō pononga,

Tāu te korōria,

Rire, rire.

Mo te ata: E Ihowa, aua anō hoki au e tukua kia taka kē i
ōu ara katoa,

Tāu te korōria,

Tāu te korōria,

Tāu te korōria,

Rire, rire.

Mo te ata: E Ihowa, tēnei au te whakapau atu nei i tōku
ngākau ki te rapu i ōu ara katoa,

Tāu te korōria,

Tāu te korōria,

Tāu te korōria.

KO NGĀ KURA

Ko te waiata: Pōrini hōia tē ewhe ērā.

1. Teihana! Tā te munu tāna niu hīngiki.
2. Teihana! Rauna hanatī haumene Tiurāe Tiamana.
3. Teihana! Mene wana taperu nama wana nama tu.
4. Teihana! Purutene wai kei o pi.
5. Teihana! Kiu 1-2-3-4-
6. Teihana! Rewa piki rewā rongo rewā tone piki tone.
7. Teihana! Rori piki rori rongo rori puihi piki puihi.
8. Teihana! Ro puihi rongo tone hira piki hira rongo hira.
9. Teihana! Mautini piki mautini rongo mautini piki niu
rongo niu.

10. Teihana! Hema Hama pāta korōria,
Rire Hau!

No no-rite rite tau-rite ta tauweti weti noeti.

1. Teihana! Hema Rura wini haere mai te wini hamuteti.
2. Teihana! Ingiki mene ingiki rana ingiki hauihi ingiki perehi ingiki terini.
3. Teihana! Kōpere okara e o oro te wara.
4. Teihana! Kōtarani Kiriki hanatī torona,
Rire Hau!

Heti hapa wini ti Tiurae Tiamana.

1. Teihana! Mene Rura Riki Kōtarani.
2. Teihana! Karauri Karaiti Titi kai kōpere.
3. Teihana! Parahaki ōu ko Kēnana perehi.
4. Teihana! Kōtarani Kiriki hanatī torona,
Rire Hau!

Pōrini Haumene Rura Riki mene korone.

1. Teihana! Hewehe perehi pata turu korone.
2. Teihana! Tana munu ta raitini korone.
3. Teihana! Ritia karauri hata haihi korone.
4. Teihana! Reina puihi Hema Hama korone.
5. Teihana! Ti Tiurae Tiamana korone.
6. Teihana! Ingiki mene roura hira korone.
7. Teihana! Niu tarai oro te wara korone.
8. Teihana! Taimana Otirani nama tu korone.
9. Teihana! Nota no te piti nō-no-rite no-rite me
nō-no-rite korone.

10. Teihana! No-no-rite rite-tau-rite tau-weti
weti-no-weti.

Teihana! Tō hanati torona,
Rire Hau!
Mutunga.

He karakia tēnei kei waenganui, ko te kura pānui.
Kei muri, ka karakia anō, arā, ko ngā waiata.

WAIATA

Tuatahi: ko te waiata a Kapariera Rura ki tōna iwi manaaki,
korōria.

1 O NGĀ ŪPOKO

Kua whakakorōriatia koe, e Ihowa, i te takiwā o te ao,
Tāu te korōria,
Tāu te korōria,
Tāu te korōria,
Rire, Hau!

Mo te ata: ko te waiata aroha a Kapariera Rura ki tōna iwi
manaaki, korōria. Te tahi o ngā ūpoko:

Atua Pai Mārire,
Atua Pai Mārire,
Atua Pai Mārire,
Rire, rire, Hau!

Tamaiti Pai Mārire,
Tamaiti Pai Mārire,
Tamaiti Pai Mārire,
Rire, rire, Hau!

Wairua Pai Mārire,
Wairua Pai Mārire,
Wairua Pai Mārire,
Rire, rire, Hau!

Tangi: Kerei Pāta, mai me rire,
Tangi: Kerei Pāta, mai me rire,
Tangi: Kerei Pāta, mai me rire,
Tō rire, rire.

Tangi: Kerei Titi Koti, mai me rire,
Tangi: Kerei Titi Koti, mai me rire,
Tangi: Kerei Titi Koti, mai me rire,
Tō rire, rire.

Tangi: Kerei Oru Koti, mai me rire,
Tangi: Kerei Oru Koti, mai me rire,
Tangi: Kerei Oru Koti, mai me rire,
Tō rire, rire.

Kia whakakorōriatia koe, e Ihowa, e tū nei i te papatipu
o Kēnana,

Tāu te korōria,
Tāu te korōria,
Tāu te korōria,
Rire, rire, Hau.

Ko te karakia a te Anahera, a Kapariera Rura, ki
tōna iwi tū-kiri-kau, tū-wareware, motu tū-hāwhe; ko te
korōria a Te UA Tū-whakararo Haumene. ŪPOKO.

KURA

Korōria me te pata o rani tu rani to & turani to & te waite
piki nui pata mene tapi wai wirau te.

Tō rire, rire.

KURA

Pai tini hau pōrini hōia hīngiki tararapi korone.

Teihana! Ingiki kama hea korone.

Teihana! Tini ana apahau ihi korone.

Teihana! Ingiki rauna te ao korone.

Teihana! Ingiki rauna te niu korone.

Teihana! Ua pai Rura Riki Hema Hama pata korōria.

Rire, Hau!

Haihana taupi ma korone.

Teihana! Mate Hīngiki Ua wini Hema Hama pata korōria,

Rire, Hau!

Pōrini! Ka tū i te tapi rama titi kai tiaki te wini korone.

Teihana! Apahau ihi wawai tēnei korone.

Teihana! Piki kana puro te taima korone.

Teihana! Tomokia te raiti tama i te wini korone.

Teihana! Apirama hapaina tamaiti pāta wairua a te wini apa
korone te tō hanate torona,
Rire, Hau!

Kia manawanui! Kaua e whakapehapeha ki te tika,
kia kite ai koe i te haerenga mai o te Hau. Kei hiwia tāu
waewae. Ka rongo koe i te mamae, e kore koe e kite i te
ngawhāta[nga] o te pua rākau mā. Kei te puanga o te rākau
mā ka kite koe i ngā manu e toru e kai ana i ngā hua o te
rākau mōmona. Mehemea ka hoki mai te tangata i te waha o
Te Parata, tangohia ko te tika, ko te mahara, ko te kaha.

Ko ngā ture ēnei.

Pepueri 2, 1865.

Perekama.

He kōrero whākinga ture na Tū-whakararō, kua puta
nei ki te Kēnana.

Ture tuatahi: kāti te patu i te tangata kotahi. Ka
hoki i tēnā te rota. Kei whai rota tēnā kotahi, engari anō
whāia te tokorua, te tokotoru rānei, hāunga ra te kotahi
tekau. Engari tēnā, ka tika te rota.

Ture 2: e toru hāpainga patu. Kei kawea koe i te
pārekareka o te patu; ka nuku atu.

OKI[O]KI

Okioki, wāhi o Oeo.

12 o Hepetema, 1865.

He pānuitanga ki ngā iwi o te motu, me ngā hapū, me te hunga, me ngā reo katoa anō hoki e pupuri nei i te mahi tohu. No te 11 o ngā rā ka tuhera te māngai o Te Ua Haumene. Ka āta kōrero mārire i ana ara me ngā whakaaro katoa a tōna hinengaro.

1. Kupu tuatahi: kei ātetea te karakia - kia rua, kia toru rānei. Kāti anō he karakia mo te motu - ko tāku i whāki.

Mehemea kua tae ki to Rā o Puta, e pai ana kia hanga karakaia te tangata māna. He pito kī tēnā. Whana atu ā Te Kāwana. Ka whai, e kore e mau. Ki te mea ka pēnā, ka mahue te tuatahi, ka tango ki te tuarua. Ka hari ā Te Kāwana, no te mea kua mutu poto tēnā, ā, ka pēnā a mua atu. Heoi anō te mea, hei rapu ko te ritenga mo te patu. Mōku e pātai ki a ia, arā, kia tairite ahau ka tukua atu.

2. Kupu tuarua: kia tapu tēnei taha o Waingongoro. Kaua e pikitia e te kanga. Engari, māna e piki mai i reira, ka tika.

3. Kupu tuatoru: kei te patu mea tapu te tika. Ko te kūaretanga o Taranaki - kīhai i rapu ki te whakahere ahi. No reira ka tango te Atua i tētahi māna i te tāngata.

4. Kupu tuawhā: mehemea tērā anō he pōrewarewa tino kaha hei rapu pēnā, kua oti, arā, kua whakahokia atu ngā kēti ki

ngā pāriki. Ko te ritenga o Taiporohenui e tika ana, no te mea he waewae ngoi-kore, he ringaringa whewhengi. Ka utua e au! Me pēhea ahau? Hōmai ngā rori ki ahau! Ka mea ia, ki te whakaāe ahau, ka hē, ka utua anō e au. Kua pai, kua oti: ma te kaiuaki tatau, māna anō e tūtaki.

Kupu ui: kua tango rānei ngā niu i te korōria?

Kupu whakahoki: āe, kua pēnā anō! Kua whakakorōria katoa ngā mea hanga katoa!

Kupu tuawhitu: na Te Ua: ko te parakete, kāore.

1865.

OKETOPA 25.

Ka tae mai a Te UA ki Ketemarae, ka tū mātou ki te Niu ki te whakanui ki a ia. Muri iho, ka tū ia ki te whai kōrero ki a mātou.

Kupu tuatahi: haere mai, haere mai e te iwi.

He waiata:

Ehara ia a au, na Kuini

I whiu mai ngā wai whakahiwahiwa

I raru ai rau, e hinawa.

Haere mai, e awhi ki te Atua

O te motu tū-hāwhe.

Koia tēnā, whāia te Atua!

Koia anō tēnā, kei mea koutou

Anā atu ko te mamae ki te motu.

Koia tēnā waiata.

O[KETOPA] 26.

Ka huihui mātou ki te whare kia kite mātou i a Te UA Haumene, ki te pātai hoki i ētahi ritenga mo tō māua Pōti, kia whakamāramatia mai e ia. Ka tīmata te pātai: haere mai e te iwi. E kimi i ngā tika. Engari ko te mea nei i pēnā me te wai. Me te pari tētahi wai, i pai tētahi, i kino tētahi pari - i pai tētahi, i kino. Kore te ahi he mate, he ora; te pari - te mate, te wai.

E kī ana koe i to kī, kāore tāua i whakaaro. E kī ana te kī, kāore tāua i whakaaro e kihitia ana e te Kāwana ko te pakawhā. E titiro ana te Atua ki te hē o ngā whakaako a Te Kāwana ki tōna motu tū-hāwhe. Koirā taea ai tēnā whakaaro e tāua. Ko ngā tūnga e hāwhe ana, ko te oneone e hāwhe ana. Ko ngā otaota, e tangohia. Ā, ko tērā, ko Te Kāwana no reira i me[al]tia ai ko tō rangatiratanga whakahokia, taihoa e riaki ki runga. Ā, ka hoki ai āiane ki tōku otaotatanga, kei kī koutou, 'Kei te mātau mātou kāore e tika ana ngā mahi a tō Hau Ipo o Waitara!'

Na te tāngata i pake i nāiane kua tū te kupu a Te Kāwana: 'E kore e hoki aku hōia.' Kua none te motu nei, engari ma te tekau ma rua e wāhi ki te rara wāhi - tekau, 12 te 12, te 12! Ki te tika tā Kereopa, tā Hakaraia ka puta, ka puta. Ko te mau, ehara i a koe anake - na tāua tahi e tika ana. Engari, kua e puakina nuitia; me huna, kia kimi i roto i a ia. Ko tāu kupu, na tāua tahi. Kei tae ki ngā Rangi o Puta, engari, me mirimiri atu.

E rua ngā nū i whakawhiwhia ai e tō Hau: ko riri, ko patu-kore i a Oketopa. Ka kite au i a te pōtāngaroa i

roto o ngā rā o Oketopa. Kāore aku kupu mo te karakia -
 kei ngā tāngata karakia tēnā; mo te hāpai patu - kei
 Te Kura anake te tikanga tāima te patu, tāima te patu-kore.
 Māna e tiki mai. Kei te Tūku Akihana te ritenga ki a
 Te Kāwana, ā, oti noa tā rāua mahi ko Te Kāwana.

Kua huihui mātou ki Te Haumene i te [] Oketopa. Kua
 whakatūturutia ngā tāngata hei kaiiriiri: ko te tāima mo te
 iriiri anake ki a kōrua. Ko ngā karakia, ma ngā kaikarakia,
 ēnā e mahi tēnā. Ko te wai, he hūare. Kaua e tono atu;
 māna e haere mai ki a kōrua, hei reira kōrua mahi ai. Ma
 rātou hoki e rongō i rite kōrua hei kaimahi kōrua.

Ko Hanita rāua ko Wata kua tūturu i a Te Ua hei
 monita tūturu. Kua tūturu tēnei kupu, kia kaua e whakahē.

Ki te pūremu: e kī ana to Hau, nāu katoa tokorua,
 tokotoru - nāu katoa tēnā. Ko te Pou-ki-ngā-marō-nui, ka
 hē tēnei e ia. Engari te takakau, me moe tonu e ia tana
 wahine. Tētahi, mehemea kua hē, he mea āta whakaāe e ngā
 tāngata, e pai ana. Ki te kore, e kore e āhei. Kotahi
 tonu ko tāku, ko tā te otaota, kaua e pēhitia e koutou.
 Aroha mai ki au, mo te mea moe tāne tēnei.

Kia tūpato koutou. Ākuanei koutou whakawaia ai e
 te Hau. Tēnei kupu - kia tūpato.

OKETOPA 29.

He ture ēnei mo ngā mahi-a-Hauhau.

Ture tua 1: kua whakairiiria e Te UA ko Tikawenga te
 kaiiriiri mo ngā tāngata Ngātikahungunu. Ko te wai kei

roto i a ia. Kaua ia e poka ki te iriiri, engari anō ma rātou e haere mai ki te kaiiriiri, ā, kātahi ia ka iriiri.

Ture 2: Ko te hoa tautohe mo Te Kāwana ko Tūku Akihana rāua ko te Tianara, ā, tae atu ki te mutunga o tā rāua mahi e mōhiotia nei.

Ture 3: ko ngā Tūku Mārire: ko tō rātou mahi he whakatakoto i te rangimārire. Kei te hoa tautohe te tikanga. Ki te kaha te hoa tautohe tae noa ki te poro kino, ka kare anō ia, ko te kupu whakarite: ki te papaki te tangata ki a koe, ka whakatahuritia tērā ki a ia.

Ture 4: ko Tūku Mārire rāua ko Tūku Akihana: ka rongo rāua i te mahi, ka hui rāua ki te kimi. Ki te kite aha Tūku Akihana, ka wahangū a Tūku Mārire. Ā, ki te kitea koa e Tūku Mārire, ka noho puku atu Akihana. Engari he tinana kotahi rāua.

Ture 5: kaua e pīkau, e mahi te Pou me ngā Tūku i te kai, i te hari kai rānei.

Ture 6: kia mahara koutou, e te iwi, ma koutou te wāhi-tua-ngahuru e hoatu ma rātou e koe e ia tangata, e ia tangata. Ngā tū hāwhe o ā koutou kaimahi a tēnā, a tēnā.

Ture 7: e Tūku mā, ki te haere koe, ko koe anake. Hapainga he kai māu ki te ringa. Ko ngā Pou me ngā Tūku: kei mahara koe mo tōu kāinga ake. Kāore, mo te motu katoa.

Ture 8: ko te tikanga tēnei mo ngā mahi a ngā Tūku: ki te oti te kupu, kawea ki te Pou. Ki te kore e mārāma i Pou, ka tuaruatia te kimihanga -4, ka 5, ā, kitea noatia taua kupu

Ture 9: ko ngā Pōrewarewa: kua ia e kake ake i ngā Tūku.
Ā, ki te kite ia i tāu mea kite, me hoatu e koe ki ngā Tūku.
Ma rātou e hoatu ki te Pou. Ā, ki te kite te Pou i te kupu,
me kōrero ki ngā Tūku, ā, ma rātou e whāki ki te iwi.

Ture 10: kua e whakatete, e Pōrewarewa, ki a kōrua; he mea
kino tēnā.

Ture 11: kua e whakahē, e te iwi, ki ngā Pōrewarewa, ahakoa
tika, hē rānei te mea i kitea e ia. Na te Atua hoki, nāna
te putanga hei titiro i a koutou. Ki te pai tā koutou
tiaki, kātahi ka homai e tō koutou Atua ngā mea tika ki a
ia.

Ko Ihowa taku hēpara, e kore ahau e hapa ki tētahi mea pai.
Kei mua tonu koe, e Ihowa, i ā mātou meatanga katoa,
Me te tautohe tonu i a mātou kia tīmataia, kia whakaotia,
He mahi i roto i ōu ture, kia āwhinatia hoki koe i a mātou.
Tiakina, manaakitia mātou, e Ihowa, e tū nei i tōu aroaro.

Tāu te korōria,

Tāu te korōria,

Tāu te korōria.

Mo ngā mahi o te ao.

TURE PŪREMU.

Ture tuatahi mo te pūremu: ki te pūremu te tangata ki te
wahine, kua e kiia he kino. Ā, ki te mahia rāua ki a
rāua, ka tika rāua ki te whakaaro o tō tātou Hau.

Ture 2: kei poka koe ki te wahine tangata. Ka tau te hoari ki a koe mo te whānau tama: ko koe te utu. Ahakoa kī te whare i ō taonga, e kore e tangohia; ka whai ia i a koe anō.

Ture 3: ka tika kia rūa, kia toru wāhine ma te tangata, e ai tā tō koutou Hau. Kupu whakarite: titiro atu ki a Āperahama, ki a Horomona.

Ture 4: ko te take, kia nui te tāngata mo Kēnana.

Ture tua 5: ko ngā tikanga o mua, he pūremu noa atu. Koia te take o tō rātou whakangaromanga i te waipuke nui i a Noa, no te kitenga a te Atua kua whakakake te tangata ki a ia. Ko te whakakake tēnei - kua tahuri ki te mārena. Kātahi tō koutou Hau-Atua ka karanga kia puke ake te wai. Kupu karaipiture - i warea anō rātou ki te mārena.

Ture 6: ki te hiahia te wahine ki tētahi tāne māna, te tāne te wahine, e pai ana kāhore he mārena. Me moe noa iho, ina oti tō rātou whakaaro.

Ture 7: ko taku hiahia tēnei, ma māua anake ko te Īngiki te karakia. Ko te iwi me Tūku, kiia ana mahara, kia tini ai te tāngata mo te Kēnana.

Ture 8: kua tahuri tēnei tātou ki te karakia; e pai ana.

Huihuinga.

Ka hui mātou kia whakapuaki a Tito i ngā ture mo ngā mahi Hau Pai. Ka tīmata ra tāna whakapuaki i ngā ture mo te motu, arā, kua oti noa atu āna ture.

Hei pānuitanga tēnei, kia hāpainga e te iwi ko te kapenga a Te UA ko te tikanga, ko te mahi: ma ngā Pou he ahu ki te rangi o tōna putanga. Ko ngā minita, ko ngā pīhopa, koia i kiia ai ko te kapenga o ngā mahi whakatewhatewha, kua mahue ake nei. Ko te Tūku, ko tana ara ko te ao. Ko tōna āhua he kāwanatanga, he tianara, he kaiwhakawā, me ara atu mea o te ao. Ka tukuna Te Pou ki ngā mahi o runga, ko te Tūku ki ō raro.

He rā tapu nui te rā o Pōtatau, ka rite ki ngā rā tapu o te karakia whakatewhatewha mai. Ko tētahi ko te rā i whakamamaetia ai tō koutou matua, a Te UA - he rā tapu nui. Ko ngā Pou me ngā Tūku kāore e kai ana, ā, pō noa i taua rangi. Ko te iwi kāore e mahi i te kai i taua rā. Ki te mea he whakatoinga nui, kua te Pou me ngā Tūku e kai me te iwi e mahi.

Huihuinga ki Putahi.

Te kupu tuatahi: ko te tahunga karaka mo te kupu a Taikomako mo Te Ua, kia haere ki te mau patu.

Te 2: ko Whanganui.

Tua 3: ko whakapā iho.

Tua 4: ko tautara o Pehio.

Tua 5: koko Tūku ture.

Tua 6: ko Te Paerata ki Oeo.

Kupu 7: ki a Tara: ka tukua koe e au hei kai ma ngā manu o te rangi. Ā, ka whakaāetia e Tara rāua ko Tūku, i paia pērātia anō a Tūku me Tara. I whakaāe anō ia, kei te tekau o ngā rā o Hānuere ka haere ki Whanganui.

Tīhema 24, 1865.

Ka huihui te iwi katoa ki Te Putahi ki te aroaro o Te Manaaki.

I taua rā, ka tohutohungia e Rāwiri te Kīngi: 'E Whare, e tangohia ngā tekau ma rua?'

'Āe!'

'Ka manaakitia, e Whare?'

'Āe!'

Ka uhiuhi ki te hari. Ka tū ki te aroaro o Te Manaaki, me āna Pou, Tūku me te iwi. Ka tukua aua tāngata hei wāhine, hei tahunga kakara ki a Ihowa. Ka hanga aua tāngata hei tāngata tapu.

No te 25 o ngā rā o Tīhema ka huihui ngā pou me ngā Tūku me te tekau mā rua. Ka whakapai rātou i te āta. Ka tangohia i reira ko ngā hua mātāmua o te whenua, ko ngā hua mātāmua o ngā rākau, ko ngā hua mōmona katoa e ngokingoki ana i runga i te whenua, me ngā mea mōmona e tere nei i te wai, me te kiko tangata, me te hiriwa, me ngā mea whai parirau, me te āhua o te Kāwana, me te kōhatu, me te honi o te koraha, me te kākahu. Ka whakatūria ki te taha i te āta, me te puruma.

Ka puta ngā kaitohutohu, ka karanga: 'E Whare e, tahuna e ngā tekau mā rua.' Ka hāpai katoa te iwi. Ka tū

ngā tāngata tokotoru, ā, ka tukua ō rātou turi ki te taha.
Ka kōrero mārire a Whare i āna ritenga ki a mātou. Ka tonu
i tana kupu mo Whanganui: 'E Tara, ka tukua atu koe e au hei
kai ma ngā manu o uta, o tai. Ko ngā manu o te rangi hei
hēpara mōu. Māna koe e tiaki i ō haerenga katoa.

Ā, kia pēnā katoa koutou i ngā tekau ma rua i meinga
nei kia tū i te aroaro o Ihowa, kia manaakitia nuitia
koutou i runga i te whenua. Heoi, ka manaakitia e te iwi.
Ka mutu.

He tahunga tinana na tō tā[tou] hoa, na Whare
Mātangi.

Me piki rawa au te tihi,
He tū ki runga koukou matua
Kia marama ai te titiro ki tawhiti
Ki te haramaitanga o te ninihi taua.
Na te rua-ā-wai, na takere ra e angī mai nei -
Kāore tēnā! Ka whai mai anō.

Nāu nei, e Kawa, te pati noa i au.
Waiho nei i te one ki tawake-ā-rau
Tahuri, huri ai.
Ko Matiu, ko Makaro - ko ngā irāmutu tāua
E Hika, o Kupe rāua ko Ngake, ei.

CHAPTER III: TRANSLATION OF THE UA GOSPEL NOTEBOOK

UA GOSPEL

The first of the chapters. This is an account of the beginning of the blessing of God upon him at an earlier time. Here then begins the first.

CHAPTER 1

Taranaki, a part of Canaan, July 8, 1864.

The casting aside of Te Ua, the first Prophet.¹ In the month of September on the first of the days, 1862, the love of God was carried to his forgetful, naked-standing people. (The heart of man was not enlightened; wherefore they were called 'forgetful-standing').²

Those indeed were the days of argument and disbelief within the minds of the people. I said that the ship and its cargo should be guarded, and that the news should be carried to King Tawhiao's councils. But it was not accepted. Who could listen to the littleness of the Mortal³ who spoke?

-
1. te kapenga. Kingitanga version of Ch 1 of the Ua Gospel has: The first of the chapters: the day of the casting aside. Do not return to the House of Japeth, but return to the House of Shem. The heavy yoke has now been cast aside. That is the word of the casting aside. 'He Ohaki no te Kingitanga o Potatau Te Wherowhero, o Tawhiao, 1860-70' (AU) 1 Sep 1864, p4. Japeth was popularly supposed to be the ancestor of the European peoples.
 2. A steamer, the Lord Worsley, carrying 60 people was wrecked at Te Namu in the territory of the Taranaki Kingites on 1 September 1862. See Chapter V.
 3. Te Ua referred to himself in the Gospel as Kohiwi, the Mortal, when he spoke of operating without the power of God. An East Coast Hauhau document calls the supernatural agents or mediums of God apa hau, and the mortal ones, apa kohiwi; Te Ua and the King are listed in the second category.

On the fifth of the days of September the Angel of God appeared to me. He told me I should fast for the sins of my people. And, there was my one special day, on which I subjected myself to suffering.⁴ I was delivered out of the hands of the strange children, whose mouths speak vanity, and whose right hands are the hand of falsehood.⁵

"Today, my friends, I have returned to my birthright. The strangers have been banished from my table.

And my people did not perceive my situation; indeed, they thought I was mad. No! It was God who made them think thus, that I should be carried to the north⁶ of my people's [country], that I might be mocked by my relatives. However my elders did not remember the circumstances of Peter: the door of the prison was opened for him by the Angel of God, and his bonds were loosed.⁷ Three times likewise I was bound in chains, and three times they were loosed by the Angel.

When they knew what they were dealing with, then indeed they beat me, and guiltless blood was shed. My friends, it was a thing commanded by the Spirit to the Angel, so that

4. i.e. 10 Sep 1864: He rā nohopuku, he whakaotinga no te rā i hamamuti i Mataihitu kainga, Taranaki, 5 o nga rā o Hepetema, 1862. (The tenth: a day of fasting, a fulfilment of the day spoken of at Mataiwhetu village, Taranaki, on the fifth of the days of September). Te Ua MS, Atkinson papers, MS papers 1187: f 15 C. (ATL)

5. Ps 144 : 11. Where Te Ua directly quotes the Bible, the King James version is used in the translation.

6. nota: 'He Ohaki' version has hauauru, west. Another version says Te Ua was taken up to the mountains. Te Ua is referring to the period following his vision when he was treated as mad.

7. Ac 12 : 6 - 11

salvation may be revealed to this generation, in the very same way as it was to John; it was revealed to him by the Spirit at Patmos.⁸ It was he also who revealed this name, the Christ, and all the things which were seen by him.⁹ It is that very same Ruler¹⁰ who has now appeared unto you, and surely brings these days to his people. Whereupon let the glory of the Most High God be praised. He it is who covers you with the cloud .¹¹

This is the foolish way of your younger brothers, the people who neither feared God nor regarded man,¹² each saying within his heart, I shall not be moved: for I shall never be in adversity, ever, ever. His mouth is full of cursing and deceit and fraud: under his tongue is mischief.¹³ The expression of that character is, exulting in the abundance of his possessions. He crouches, and humbles himself, so that the poor are destroyed by his dealings.¹⁴

8. Rv 1 : 9

9. Christ is revealed as the Lamb who will sit on the throne of God in Revelation. 'He Ohaki' version has: 'It was he also who told this name of Christ', i.e. the Lamb.

10. i.e. Gabriel. See Chapter VI.

11. Reference to cloud is uncertain. The Israelites were covered by a cloud by day and fire by night as a sign of God's protection. In 1864 in Taranaki King Tawhiao prophesied: On a certain day a voice came forth from the cloud, saying. The virgins rejoice and the widows of Canaan are exceedingly joyful, for the day of the descending which are spoken of in the holy word are come near. 'He Poropitititanga na Tawhiao i Taranaki i te tau 1864' Te Rangituatahi Te Kawana MSS No.3 p4.(AU)

12. Lk 18 : 4

13. Ps 10 : 6-7

14. ibid, v10

My friends, do not do likewise. Oh strangers, look to Abraham your father, and indeed to Abel, who begat you. It was I who called upon them.

THE END.

Songs for morning.¹⁵

The first of the songs: the song of Gabriel Ruler to his blessed and glorified people.

VERSE 1

May you be glorified, Jehovah,

Throughout the universe...¹⁶

Sound forth the Glory:::

Sound forth the Glory...

Sound forth the Glory...

Verily, verily, Sound...¹⁷

The end.

15. The songs are discussed in Chapter VII.

16. The dots may indicate the way the songs were sung. Hauhau songs were intoned slowly to tunes which came from Christian church music.

17. Rire, and, in the next song, To rire, are problematical. Rirerire and torire can be used to intensify words indicating beauty, H.W. Williams, A Dictionary of the Maori Language, (7th ed.) Wellington, 1971, p342. Their translation as the biblical intensive 'verily' seems reasonable either on the evidence of their traditional meaning or because they might be a transliteration of 'verily'.

Hau has been translated in its verbal meaning of 'sound' because making an emphatic noise with this word seems to have been a feature of its use in services. The deeper meaning of the concept of hau would, however, have been bound up with its expression. For a discussion of the significance of Te Hau among the Hauhaus, see Chapter VIII.

Cry: Gracious Father, have mercy on me¹⁸

Cry: Gracious Father, have mercy on me.

Cry: Gracious Father, have mercy on me.

Verily, verily.

Cry: Gracious Shining Ghost, have mercy on me.¹⁹

Cry: Gracious Shining Ghost, have mercy on me.

Cry: Gracious Shining Ghost, have mercy on me.

Verily, verily

You are greeted with Hosannahs, Jehovah,

Throughout the world...

Sound the Glory...

Sound the Glory...

Sound the Glory...

Verily, verily, Sound...Z 3...

The prayer of Te UA Haumene²⁰ the Prophet to Jehovah.

It is he who brings forth glory upon the Canaan of King

Tawhiao:::

Bless, Jehovah, your people

Whom you made to stand naked

On Canaan's homeland!²¹

18. Mai merire was said to be a version of the latin Mei miserere. Williams, W.L. East Coast NZ Historical Records, Gisborne, 1932, p41. A Maori witness at a trial in 1866 agreed it meant 'have mercy'.

19. Titi Koti: translation uncertain.

20. Karaitiana usually writes Te Ua's name in capitals.

21. Papatupu: used in the Bay of Plenty to describe land which had never been alienated.

Sound the Glory..

Sound the Glory,

Sound the Glory,

Verily, verily, Sound:::

CHAPTER

The love song of Gabriel Ruler to his blessed and glorified people:

THE FIRST OF THE VERSES:

God of Goodness and Peace, God of Goodness and

God of Goodness and Peace,

Verily, verily, Sound!

Son of Goodness and Peace, Son of Goodness and Peace,

Son of Goodness and Peace,

Verily, verily, Sound!

Spirit of Goodness and Peace, Spirit of Goodness and Peace,

Spirit of Goodness and Peace,

Verily, verily, Sound!

THE SECOND OF THE VERSES:

Evening prayer.

Father of Goodness and Peace, Father of Goodness and Peace,

Father of Goodness and Peace,

Verily, verily, Sound!

The prayer of the Angel Lord Michael to his blessed and glorified people:

THE SECOND OF THE VERSES:

Scotland, Michael, Father, the glory, news, Holy Father
Shem, the glory, glory.²²

Verily, verily, Sound!

22. This is an example of a transliterative prayer or song, which is typically a list of words. Kotarani is the standard Maori version of 'Scotland', but it may mean 'guardian' here. The prayers or songs are discussed in Chapter VII. The Angel Lord Michael is discussed in Chapter VI. At least three other collections of Hauhau songs and prayers have survived. One has an elaborate numerical code (Atkinson papers, ATL), another in the Hocken Library begins 'This is so the people will know how to command his goods or his food'.

CHAPTER 2

January 13, 1863.

This is a message for the ministers, for Whiteley, Coates and Brown,²³ for every minister living in the land: let them go back over the sea in goodness and peace - go back in goodness and peace, for the God of Peace has told me many times that his forgetful, naked-standing people in the half standing land shall be restored, even to that which was given unto Abraham, for this is Israel.

It was an evil thing to exclude them and the black race of old, because He made both black and white. Thus they are one flesh in the God of Peace. Mocking is wholly wrong; for the white should not want to mock the black, nor the black the white. For what does Taranaki mountain look like - which is it, white or black? If it has the whiteness of paper, then it can be written upon by Hemi-kaka-tohu and Te Ao Katoa²⁴ And what does the mortal whom he marries look like? Calm and Shining. That is the Ace of Spades, Maori Woman.²⁵ And that is the Fourth Post.²⁶

But you are saying, I am drunk. I say, whose food is the spirits on which I feed? The Mortal indeed eats.

23. H.H.Brown and J. Whiteley were ministers in Taranaki. Coates (Te Kooti) may refer to the Lay Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. Te Ua's attitude to ministers is discussed in Chapter IX.

24. Te Ao Katoa was a chief. The identity of Hemi-kaka-tohu is unknown but both were apparently Hauhau officials. This passage is in the cryptic, oracular style of Maori speech making.

25. Significance unclear. Spades are depicted on the flag Ruler Son.

26. Potiwaha: translation and meaning uncertain. Te Ua uses poti, for post, wha means four.

The people will misinterpret it, that is why the Mortal eats in careful moderation.

It is said to us by the trial teachings that the parables were left by the God of Peace as a shield from God against false teachings.²⁷ That is why there were ministers and monitors, and indeed, such was I in the days before the wielding of the sword.²⁸ In the last year of that wielding the war of words began. But it is real war by which this land will be destroyed, as if there were no Taranaki tribe and Ngati Ruanui tribe to raise the mana of the King above the warlike talk. That is why the Mortal made the boundary called the Blocking of Houtaiki and Tu-tangata-kino,²⁹ to keep peace in the north.

Agree, oh tribe of Seers, to search out the ways of the God of Peace, so that you may help his forgetful, naked-standing people in the half-standing land. Turn back to the days of the ancients, so that man will live until his knees stick out at the back of his head, and only then will be die.³⁰

Let every way be that of the God of Peace. Quarrelling is always wrong: they will soon set to work and eat each

27. Mt 13 : 13

28. A reference to his earlier career as a monitor in a Wesleyan Mission in the 1840s.

29. Taranaki ancestors. Te Ua carried out the Taranaki policy of refusing the Pakeha access to their territory.

30. cf. Zc 8 : 4

other again. As for that - bind it! But well intentioned pastimes - the peaceable song, the peaceable haka, the peaceable lullaby, the peaceable tattoo of the face, lip and chin - those are the pastimes for gatherings. Let the Ace of Spades be sought - the Maori men and Maori women.

Now another saying is, let witchcraft be cast out. O you who are clinging to witchcraft - cast it out! This is a gospel of peace, an excellent saying, that that thing be left behind you, lest you say that trouble comes from the God of Peace. If it were the case that your witchcraft was strong against the enemy, the Mortal and the Spirit would agree to your clinging to witchcraft. But indeed, it is with the Maoris that it would be strong. This thought is not of God the Good and Peaceful Creator; cast it off, leave it peacefully behind.

Put an end to land disputes between you and your older brother, or your father, because it belongs to you both. On the other hand, if it is a Pakeha - yes!

These utterances are for the men of the King's council; because the council is of great power, those men are of great power; whereupon they perceive. How should they act in order to perceive? They must seek out and search for what? For the power of the God of Peace. Then the Forgetful Man and the Forgetful Council will see that they are treading down the God of Peace and his man whom he annointed.

Man will not suffer for great possessions; it is for the little possession that he will suffer.³¹

cf. Mt 18 : 12

That ends my message.

'The stout heart'. Three times he repeated that word. Hear this: let the people in no wise be angry with me; the reason is, such behaviour will turn back on them. Man does not perceive my nature. I am a cloud, a manuka tree, a heart of man.

The killers of man have been cut off.

I come from Covering-for-the-World.³²

Let the people and the land heed these signs I am teaching you. Do not mock, but turn to what you must do, namely the raising of the land. There is fighting, here is fighting, but let that thought be humbled under God and his followers.

THE END.

A saying for the thoughtful heart: the handing down of the truths of ancient times is a matter of much concern to the thoughtful heart. They are not easily discovered; they uncover themselves to the faces of the persistent heart. Consider this proverb: seek diligently. Another one is: only by prayer and fasting.³³

A word of advice to the holy people of God the Creator: do not look upon the days of ignorance. That is all.

Stretch forth your hands to the whole world. He will surely incline His ears to you, and preserve His people from the quarrels within the stronghold. Do not give the people up to their follies. Do not become bitter within yourself.

32. Significance unknown.

33. Mt 17 : 21

The only thing is for you to pray to God to preserve his people and subdue the jealous heart of the quarrelsome.

To the second section of the people: walk in like manner to the paths of the Unshakeable Posts.³⁴ Keep your counsel at quarrels, reprove the stubborn heart, continually entreat God and practice love to seek salvation. Consider the sayings of old: seek salvation for Israel, and you will dwell within the bonds of peace. Do not hide what is good within you: let it be spoken at your assembling of the people. Do not refuse that which is of God. Do not keep that which is holy to yourself. Heed what He says; follow after him.

A message to the third section, namely the company of the Seers: peaceably lay open the abundant word to your people; because you have the light. Here lies your proverb: Your word is a lamp unto my feet, a light unto my pathway.³⁵

Diligently search out to the uttermost the holy word which is spoken to you. May the seeds of the tree which was planted in you be scattered abroad. May your harvest be white.³⁶ Gather, bind and sow. Practice the things you were taught. You have the Post and the prompting of the Spirit, so that your people may come in under you. Do not shut the door; keep it always open, whether they are good or evil.³⁷ My desire is that the works of light be pursued; the time is coming when man will not be able to work.³⁸

34. The Posts were the highest officers of the Hauhau faith.

35. Ps 119 : 105

36. cf. Jn 4 : 35

37. cf. Rv 3 : 8

38. Jn 9 : 4

A message to the fourth section, namely the teachers of the law: do not forsake your courage. You have been completely redeemed in spirit and heart, and you shall not fail. Whereupon endeavour to keep the unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace. ³⁹

Consider the sayings of your fathers, for they are yours to act upon now. I urge upon you, my friends, the merciful works of God. Therefore enter boldly under his shadow.⁴⁰ Let the words of your mouths be as the dew which moistens the new growth.⁴¹ His word will then be boldly proclaimed, and your message to the body of the people will not dry up in summer.⁴² Do not grow weary of toil,⁴³ let your spirit be strong to hear the Lord.

One word to the judges: the word is, see that you do not now make wrong judgements, since you will be judged in like manner. Neither look in the face of the destitute, nor honour the face of the mighty. ⁴⁴

The message to the body of the people; heed those who are workers amongst us. Do not indeed mock what came out of their mouths. They are a people set apart for the holy word.⁴⁵ The word of the Lord is fulfilled in them: my blessing rests upon my servants, and it is through them that my people will serve the people.

Heed the law so that you will have eternal life, so

39. Ep 4 : 3

40. cf. Ps 91 : 1

41. Dt 32 : 2

42. Mt 13 : 6

43. Ga 6 : 9

44. Lv 19 : 15, Mt 7 : 2. See Chapter VI.

45. cf Rm 1 : 1

that you will see happy days; stand humbly before the Lord. Behave fittingly to our torchbearers; listen to what they say. Do not be deaf to the monitors; stand singlemindedly before them. Let us be like the fruitful vine on the sides of the house, or like the orewa saplings with which the table is hedged about. ⁴⁶

Speak peaceably, as if the foolish ways of these tribes were the ways of Goodness and Peace. The work for the Unshakeable Post and the Duke⁴⁷ is to wrestle long with he who prophesies so that both big and little things may be enquired upon. Take it away; it is for you to investigate. When you discover whether it is right or wrong, carry it back to him. Do not wrathfully condemn what he says, lest the good things of heaven are hidden to you.

The company of Seers: do not trample the knowledge of old lest you be blinded; rather, you should listen to what it says.

To the company of monitors; do not neglect that of the Lord which was laid up within you. ⁴⁸ It is through the desire of your heart that it will keep its place with you.

To the whole body of the people: obstinancy is the root of our destitution. That which is of God has been altogether despised. Indeed we have said he is a false God. Let us not say the destitution came from God. No; it was from mocking the words of God. We courted destitution; we

46. Ps 128 : 3

47. Dukes were the second grade of officer in the Hauhau. see Chapter VIII.

48. Dt 11 : 18

should then repay His love with what He has given us - namely, with praise. Let nothing of what He says be despised. Only let everything be done according to his will.

I have seen on my bed a vision. It was as if a great cloud was forming and it darkened the sun and its light. I heard a voice calling from space, Alas my people are like stars falling down from the skies,⁴⁹ and they will never return to their place again. The one which I chose has become a remnant.

Whereupon cling to your rock, lest the message He speaks be fulfilled. It is only by hearing that you will cling. He teaches us as we do our children. It is through hearing he calls himself a child of yours. And, if he does not, he is chastised in the very same as He who chastises us. Thus the chastisement remains as a reminder for the people. Understand that the striking of the lash is teaching you; if you will not listen, He increases the lash.⁵⁰

Consider your ancestor who was saved from within the destruction. Do not again behave so that we repeat those days in Gomorrah and Sodom, but let those days be a warning within you.⁵¹

Great indeed is my own distress. I did not heed the law, namely, that I should enter into life lame or on crippled knees. The foolishness of man says it is by the speech of the mouth alone, not the heart of the people.⁵²

49. Mt 24 : 29

50. Mt 18 : 8

51. Gn 19

52. Mt 15 : 18

Be strong in faith, so that you may be called one flock beneath him.⁵³

Look upon your enemies: through what did they stand? Through paying heed to the law, through respecting their leaders. For that is the law of our God - respecting, and paying heed. Let us not be like the cicada, which is carefree in the summertime, but in the cold season he is no more.⁵⁴ Neither be like the barren seed, which will never be cherished by the husbandman. But let it be fruitful through many years, in that case the husbandman surveys the fruit of his seeds, and he dances and rejoices throughout his days.

Never let your manner be called a reproach for the foolish, 4,⁵⁵ for they are like the weed which withers up in the summer-time.⁵⁶ Should your goodness be accused by the people who deceive you, let it remain as a place of rejoicing within you. Thus you will be taught to cleave to your new treasure which descended upon you. For through what will your accusers become a work force for you? Through eagerness to fight, through laziness, through mocking, through jeering, through thoughtlessness?⁵⁷ No: only through your earnest call to him. Turn toward us, oh Jehovah!

53. Jn 10 : 16

54. While this image echoes the biblical parables, its origin is Maori. Stowell, H.M., Maori and English Tutor, Wellington [n.d.] p135

55. Ps 39 : 8. Significance of '4' unknown - probably refers to the sequence of admonition.

56. Mt 13 : 6

57. Ze 4 : 6

UA GOSPEL SERVICE BOOK

By Karaitiana Te ?Korau⁵⁸

I am teaching you in the name of
God the Good and Peaceful Creator,
God the Good and Peaceful Son,
God the Good and Peaceful Spirit,
Verily, verily.

The Announcement: Fall in soldiers t f l attention!
 Star the moon sun news king attention!
 2 rounds stand at ease!

It is you, o Jehovah, you will send the Winds⁵⁹ upon
all your servants. It is you indeed who will bring them to
land, for it is not of me. But if it is of you, it will be
well,

Yours is the glory,
Yours is the glory,
Yours is the glory,

Prayers for bed time: O Jehovah, preserve me, in all
the places of Canaan,

Yours is the glory,
Yours is the glory,

58. Name unclear.

59. The Winds are discussed in Chapter VII.

Yours is the glory,
Verily, verily.

2. Bed time: O Jehovah, this is your servant praying
in your fear,

Yours is the glory,
Yours is the glory,
Yours is the glory,
Verily, verily.

For morning: It was you, O Jehovah, who preserved me
in these nights which you have given to your servant,

Yours is the glory,
Verily, verily.

For morning: O Jehovah, let me not stray from all your
paths,

Yours is the glory,
Yours is the glory,
Yours is the glory,
Verily, verily.

For morning: O Jehovah, here am I exhausting my heart
to seek all your ways,

Yours is the glory,
Yours is the glory,
Yours is the glory.

THE LESSONS

The song: Fall in soldiers t f l

1. Attention! Star the moon sun news king.
2. Attention! Round stand at ease wind man Jew German.
3. Attention! Men one w number one number two.
4. Attention! ---⁶⁰ y k o p
5. Attention! q 1-2-3-4-
6. Attention! River big river long river stone big stone
7. Attention! Road big road long road bush big bush
8. Attention! Low bush long stone hill big hill long hill.
9. Attention! Mountain big mountain long mountain big
news long news.
10. Attention! Shem Ham father glorious,

Verily Sound!

North nor-east east sou-west star sou-west west
nor-east.

1. Attention! Shem Ruler wind come the wind come to tea.
2. Attention! King men king round king house king bless.
3. Attention! Gospel your colours o all the world.
4. Attention! Scotland Greece stand at ease.

Verily, Sound!

Left up wind tea Jew German.

1. Attention! Men Ruler Lord Scotland.
2. Attention! Christ Jesus food gospel
3. Attention! Flag your --- Canaan prayer.
4. Attention! Scotland Greece stand at ease colony.

Verily, Sound!

Fall in Wind men Ruler Lord men colony.

60. --- Translation unknown; some translations of the transliterative songs are conjectural.

1. Attention! Heavy bless father true colony.
2. Attention! Sun moon star lightning colony.
3. Attention! --- --- hearts high colony.
4. Attention! Rain bush Shem Ham colony.
5. Attention! Tea Jew German colony.
6. Attention! King's men low hill colony.
7. Attention! News starlight all the world colony.
8. Attention! Diamond o --- number two colony.
9. Attention! North north by east nor nor-east north
east and nor nor-east colony.
10. Attention! Nor nor-east east-sou-east sou-west west-
nor-west.

Attention! Your stand at ease

Verily, Sound!

End.

(There is a prayer in between here. The announcement of lessons follows, then we chant again, that is, we chant the songs.)

SONGS

First: The song of Gabriel Ruler to his blessed and glorified people.

VERSE 1:

You have been glorified, O Jehovah, throughout the world,

Yours is the glory,

Yours is the glory,

Yours is the glory,

Verily, Sound!

For morning: The love song of Gabriel Ruler to his
blessed and glorified people. The first of the verses:

God of Goodness and Peace

God of Goodness and Peace

God of Goodness and Peace

Verily, verily, Sound!

Son of Goodness and Peace,

Son of Goodness and Peace,

Son of Goodness and Peace,

Verily, Sound!

Spirit of Goodness and Peace,

Spirit of Goodness and Peace,

Spirit of Goodness and Peace,

Verily, Sound!

Cry: Gracious Father, have mercy on me,

Cry: Gracious Father, have mercy on me,

Cry: Gracious Father, have mercy on me,

Verily, verily.

Cry: Gracious Shining Spirit, have mercy on me,

Cry: Gracious Shining Spirit, have mercy on me,

Cry: Gracious Shining Spirit, have mercy on me,

Verily, verily.

Cry: Gracious Holy Ghost, have mercy on me,
Cry: Gracious Holy Ghost, have mercy on me,
Cry: Gracious Holy Ghost, have mercy on me,
Verily, verily.

May you be glorified, O Jehovah, as we stand on
Canaan's home ground,

Yours is the glory,
Yours is the glory,
Yours is the glory,
Verily, verily, Sound!

The prayer of the Angel Gabriel Ruler, to his naked-
standing, forgetful-standing people in the half-standing
land; the glory of Te UA Tu-whakararo Haumene. CHAPTER.

SCHOOL

Glory be to the father and to the Son and to the Holy
Ghost, as it was in the beginning and ever, shall be, world
without end.⁶¹

Verily, verily.

SCHOOL

Pay attention sound fall in soldiers king --- colony.
Attention! King --- come here colony.
Attention! Many are his spirits dread colony
Attention! King round the world colony.
Attention! King round the news colony.
Attention! Ua good Ruler Lord Shem Ham father glory.

⁶¹. This translation is suggested by Cowan. See Cowan, J., The New Zealand Wars, (Reprint) Wellington, 1922. Vol. 2, p12.

Verily, Sound!

--- --- Shall be white colony.

Attention! ?Dead king Ua wind Shem Ham father glory,
Verily, Sound!

Fall in! Stand on the --- light Jesus Christ guard
the wind colony.

Attention! Spirit dread fight this colony.

Attention! Big ?can end the time colony.

Attention! --- the --- raised son in the wind colony.

Attention! --- --- son father spirit of the wind spirit
colony stand at ease ---
Verily, Sound!

Be of good heart! Do not deride the truth, so that you see the coming of the Wind. Do not jerk your foot when you feel pain, you will never see the blossoming of the white bird tree. When the white tree blossoms you see the three birds eating the fruits of the laden tree. If a man could return from the mouth of Te Parata,⁶² his reason and strength would be gone.

These are the laws.

February 2, 1865.

Perekama.

A law-revealing speech by Tu-whakararo,⁶³ who has come forth at Canaan.

First law: stop killing lone men. The wrath⁶⁴ will return on that account. Do not pursue wrath on account of that one. But pursue the two or the three, besides the ten, for then the wrath is right.

Law 2: there are three times for raising the weapon. Do not be seduced by the gratification of killing - put it aside.

62. A mythical sea monster. Grey, Sir G., Polynesian Mythology, (3rd edition) Christchurch, 1956, pl07. In some versions Te Parata causes the ebb and flow of life tides. The reference to jerking the foot is obscure. One observer of a Hauhau ceremony said that the worshippers gave a 'peculiar jerk' of the neck.

63. i.e. Te Ua. Before Te Ua became a prophet his name was Horopapera Te Ua Tu-whakararo [Tutawake]. Tutawake was his father's name. As a prophet, Te Ua was called either Te Ua or Te Ua Haumene. After his submission Te Ua signed himself Horopapera Te Ua.

64. rota: translation conjectural. The meaning of this passage is unknown. Its background was the fighting at the Weraroa pa above Perekama in January 1865; Te Ua was in the pa.

OKI[O]KI

Okioki, part of Oeo.

12 September, 1865.

An announcement to the tribes of the land, to the sub-tribes and the people, and also all the spokesmen who are keeping in mind the understanding of the signs. On the eleventh of the days Te Ua Haumene opened his mouth. He spoke in mildness and peace of his paths, and of all the thoughts of his heart.

1. First word: do not despise prayer - let there be two or three. Confine praying for the land to what I revealed. If we had arrived at the Day of Deliverance it would be well that a man make prayers for himself. That is a saying for the end. The Governor's troops charge. They chase us, but they never catch us. If that happens, first one will be abandoned and they will take possession of the second one. The Governor will rejoice because of the one which was abandoned, and, it will go on like that forever. Whereupon the thing is to seek a ruling about the fighting. It is I who will ask him, so that I can be on the same basis as those who have submitted.⁶⁵

2. Second word: let this side of Waingongoro be sacred. Do not let the curse cross it. However, if it should cross over here, that will be well.⁶⁶

3. Third word: destroying tapu things is right. The

65. Translation of this passage is somewhat uncertain.

66. i.e. he will fight. This is a reference to Te Ua's policy of blockade.

foolishness of Taranaki was - they did not seek to bind fire. Therefore God took a power from the people.⁶⁷

4. Fourth word: if it were so that there were a seer strong enough to strive in that way, it would have been accomplished, that is, the gates would have been returned to the paddocks.⁶⁸ The way of Taiporohenui⁶⁹ is right, because the feet are feeble and the arms wasted. I shall gain satisfaction. How can I? Give me the roads! He says, if I agree, and there is trouble, I will seek satisfaction again. But that is good, it is settled: it is the one who opens doors who will block them again.⁷⁰

Word of enquiry: has the news been received from the glory?

Word of reply: Yes it has happened thus! All creation has been wholly glorified!

Seventh word: By Te Ua: looting is forbidden.

1865. OCTOBER 25.

Te UA arrived at Ketemarae and we stood at the Newspole to honour him. Afterwards he stood to address us.

His first words: Welcome, welcome my people.

67. See Chapter V.

68. That is, the Taranaki would have succeeded in keeping the Pakehas away from their territory.

69. The meeting house in which King Movement policy was formulated in the 1850s.

70. Te Ua is confirming his right to close off Taranaki territory. At this time, the Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui tribes were discussing peace terms with Pakeha officials.

His song:

It was not I, but the Queen
Who flung hither the troubled waters
Which perplexed the multitude, e hinawa!
Come, embrace the God
Of the half-standing land.
Therefore seek God!
Do so indeed, and do not say
It is he who causes the pain in the land.

That was the song.

O[CTOBER] 26

We gathered at the house to see Te UA Haumene and to ask about some of the ways for our Post, so that he could enlighten us. The enquiry began thus: Welcome, my people. Seek out the right. Now this thing was like the tide. If a sea-tide overflows, it was sometimes a good thing, sometimes bad : it might be good or bad. Fire neither lives nor dies: water flows and ebbs.

You are saying in your talk, We did not expect this. It is being said, we did not expect that the Governor would strip the husk. God is watching the folly of the Governor's teachings to his half-standing land. That was why we accomplished our plan. The settlements are halved, the soil is halved, the grasslands will be occupied. And it was he, the Governor, who said that your chieftianship will be restored and presently, raised up. Well, soon I will return to my grasslands lest you say, We know that the works of your Wind of Love at Waitara are not right.

It was through the stubbornness of the people that the word of the Governor has been established: My soldiers

will never return. This land has wasted.⁷¹ But it is for the Twelve to proclaim the word loudly - the 12, the 12, the 12!⁷² If what Kereopa says is right, the time of Zecharaiah has come - it has come! But it was not you alone who established it - it is true that it was by us both. But do not openly disclose it. Keep it hidden, so that each must seek within himself. As for your word, it was by us both. Do not anticipate the Days of Deliverance. Rather, keep calm.

There are two pieces of news which were bestowed by your Wind: October is a time of anger, but no killing. I see the Night of Tangaroa⁷³ within the days of October. I say nothing about the faith - that rests with the faithful. As for making war: the rule for the time for war and the time for no war rests with Te Kura⁷⁴ alone. It is for him to bring it here.

The method of dealing with the Governor rests with the Duke of Action, until his and the Governor's work has completely run its course.

We gathered unto Te Haumene on the [] of October.

The men were installed as baptists for the south. These men who were to be baptists were Te Wirihana and Mikaere. He

71. none: word unclear in text.

72. Kereopa had 12 disciples in the fighting in late 1865.

73. Po Tangaroa: the moon from the 23rd to the 26th of the month.

74. Te Kura was a Ngati Ruanui chief.

said, You are only to see to the time for baptism. As for the services, those will be done by the service leaders, it is these who will do that work. The water is to be spittle. Do not send out for [the people]; let them come to you and then you perform it. They will hear that you have been appointed as workers.

Hanita and Wata have been permanently installed by Te Ua as permanent monitors. This is a permanent word, which should not be disputed.

On the matter of sexual misconduct:⁷⁵ Your Wind says that you may all have two or three women - you can have them all. As for the married Post, this is wrong for him. But the unmarried - he can certainly sleep with his woman. Moreover if he has sinned and it is quite acceptable to the people, it is well. If not, he will not be able to continue it.

My one feeling is, sexual feeling should not be suppressed by you. Pity me, for I sleep alone.⁷⁶

Be watchful. Soon you will be taken by the wind. Therefore this saying - be watchful.

OCTOBER 29.

These are the laws for the works of the Hauhau.

75. Laws for sexual conduct are discussed in Chapter V.

76. Aroha mai ki au, mo te mea moe tāne tēnei. The people and officers of the faith were polygynists, except for the Posts who were monogamous. Apparently Te Ua himself was a celibate.

First law: Tikawenga has been baptised by Te UA as the baptist for the Ngatikahungunu people. The water is within him. He must not baptise at random, but rather it is for them to come to the baptist, and then he will baptise them.

Law 2: the opponents for the Governor are Duke of Action and the General, until the ending of their work is known to me.

Third: The Dukes of Peace. Their work is to lay down peacefulness. How this is to be done rests with the opponent. If the opponent persists in bringing evil about, and stirs feeling again, the proverbial saying is: 'If a man slap you, turn the other cheek to him'.⁷⁷

Law 4: The Dukes of Peace and the Dukes of Action. When they hear of something, they will meet to search it out. If the Duke of Action accepts something, the Duke of Peace will stay silent. And indeed, if it is accepted by the Duke of Peace, the Duke of Action will stay silent. But they are one body.

Law 5: The Post and the Dukes must not carry food on their backs, nor work with food, nor transport food.

Law 6: Remember, my people, it is for everyone of you to give an offering of one tenth of your goods for their use. Each one [is to give for] the two halves of your workers.⁷⁸

Law 7: Dukes, if you travel, go alone. Carry food

77. Lu 6 : 29

78. Meaning unclear.

for yourself in your hand. Posts and Dukes: do not be concerned for your own village. No, be concerned for the whole land.

Law 8: this is the rule for the work of the Dukes. When the word is completed, take it to the Post. If it is not clear to Post, let it be searched out a number of times - four or five - until that word is clearly understood.

Law 9: the Seers: He must not put himself above the Dukes. If he accepts your vision, you must give it to the Dukes. They will give it to the Post. And, if the Post accepts the word he must speak to the Dukes, and it is they who will reveal it to the people.

Law 10: Seers, do not quarrel with each other, for that is an evil thing.

Law 11: my people, do not find fault with the Seers, whether the thing which is seen by him is right or wrong. For it is God - it is he who brings it forth for you to consider. If you take good care of him, your God will give the right things to him.

Jehovah is my shepherd; I shall never want for any good thing. You are always before us Jehovah, in all our undertakings, always contending with us that work is begun and ended within your laws, so that you may truly help us. Guard us and bless us, O Jehovah, who stand before your presence.

Yours is the glory!

Yours is the glory!

Yours is the glory!

For worldly matters.

LAWS FOR SEXUAL MISCONDUCT.

First law for sexual misconduct: If a man unlawfully takes a woman, do not let it be called wrong. And if they are absorbed with each other, they are lawful in the thought of our Wind.

Law 2: do not behave unlawfully towards married women. The sword will fall upon you if children are born. It is you who will be the payment. Though your house be full of your possessions, they will never be taken; it is you yourself who will be pursued.

Law 3: It is right that a man have two or three wives, according to the guiding word of your Wind. Look at Abraham and Solomon.

Law 4: The reason is to increase the people for Canaan.

Law 5: Wanton fornication was indeed the custom of the past. That was the reason for their destruction in the great flood in the time of Noah; for God saw that man had put himself above Him. His conceit was - he had overthrown marriage. Then your Wind-God summoned the waters to rise. The word of scripture says, they had become dead to marriage.

Law 6: if a woman desires a certain man for herself, and the man the woman, it is well. There need be no marriage ceremony. They should just sleep together, when their minds are made up.

Law 7: my desire is that the faith be overseen by myself and the King. As for the people and Duke, each should speak his thoughts, so that there will be a multitude of people for Canaan.

Law 8: we are now concentrating on the faith; it is good.

MEETING.

We met so that Tito⁷⁹ could reveal the laws for the works of the Good Wind. He began at that time to lay down the laws for the land, and his laws are now quite complete.

This is to be proclaimed; Let the people uphold Te Ua's casting aside.

The way and the work: the Posts will point to the day of His coming. The ministers and the bishops, those who were named in the casting aside of the trial works, they have now been forsaken.

The Duke: his path is the world. His concerns are governments, generals, judges and other worldly things. The Post is sent to the works above, the Duke to those below.

The day of Potatau⁸⁰ is a holy day, like the holy days of the trial religion. Another is the day on which your father Te Ua was caused to suffer; that is a most sacred day.

79. Tito was probably Tito Te Hanataua the Ngati Ruanui chief and an associate of Te Ua. A second possibility is Titokowaru, the Taranaki Hauhau leader.

80. Potatau was the first Maori King.

The Posts and Dukes shall not eat on that day until night has fallen. The people shall not prepare food on that day. When there is much dissent, Post and Dukes, do not eat, and people, do not work.

MEETING AT PUTAHI⁸¹

The first word: the burning of sweet scent for Taikomako's⁸² message concerning Te UA, that he should go to the fight.

The second: Whanganui.⁸³

Third: The striking down.

Fourth: The peak of Pehio.

Fifth: The Duke-law.

6: Te Paerata [is to go] to Oeo.

Word 7: To Tara:⁸⁴ I send you out as food for the birds of the sky. Tara and Duke gave their assent. Duke was approved of in the very same way as Tara. He also agreed to go to Whanganui on the 10th of January.

DECEMBER 24, 1865.

The whole tribe assembled at Te Putahi in the presence

-
81. Putahi was a strong pa which was captured by the government troops on 7 Jan 1866. Te Ua was taken prisoner.
 82. Taikomako was active as a prophet in 1866.
 83. This message is cryptic in style. According to the soldiers who discovered the Ua Gospel Notebook, the plan was to attack Wanganui on 10 Jan 1866. An old Hauhau confirmed the plan to McDonnell in 1877.
 84. In some letters referring to the Hauhau leader Patara, he is called Tara.

of The Blessing.⁸⁵ On that day, David chose the King:⁸⁶

Whare,⁸⁷ are the twelve taken up?

Yes!

Are they blessed, Whare?

Yes! They are showered with blessing. They stand in the presence of The Blessing and his Posts, Dukes and the people. Those men are sent out as brides, as a sweet savour to Jehovah. They have been made into holy men.

On the 25th day of December the Posts and Dukes and The Twelve assembled. They prepared the altar. They placed there the first-fruits of the soil,⁸⁸ the first-fruits of the trees, all the fleshy creatures who creep upon the land and the fleshy things which swim in the sea, the head of a man, and the silver, and the things which have wings, and the likeness of the Governor, and the stone, and the honey of the plain, and the cloak. They were placed at the side of the Altar with the broom.

The instructors came forth, and called, Oh Whare, let it be lit by The Twelve.

All the people began to sing. The three men stood up, and then knelt at the side. Whare spoke peaceably to us about his beliefs. He repeated his saying about Whanganui: Tara,

85. Te Manaaki: possibly Te Ua.

86. King David chose his successor on his deathbed. The relevance of the Bible image to this ceremony is uncertain, as twelve men were being chosen.

87. Whare Matangi, a Hauhau prophet.

88. The sacrifice of the first-fruits is an Old Testament ceremony.

you are sent out by me to be food for the birds of the land
and the sea. The birds of the sky will be a shepherd for you.
It is they who will guard all your journeyings.⁸⁹

And, let all of you do as the Twelve who were called
to stand in the presence of Jehovah. May you be greatly
blessed upon earth.

The end.

A burnt offering by our friend, Whare Matangi.

I climb right up to the peak,
And stand upon the highest crest,
That I may clearly see afar
The stealthy coming of the war party.
By the water caves, by the river beds
They stalk me - Ah! they seek me still.

It was you, Kawa, who enticed me!
Now I am left on the shore to be patched -
Turning, tossing about.
Matiu and Makaro - you and I, Hika
Are the nieces of Kupe and Ngake, ei.⁹⁰

89. According to Anaru Matete, Te Ua handed over the faith to Tohu, Te Whiti and Taikomako. Anaru Matete to Parutene Titore, 7 Jun 1866, McLean coll. MS papers 32:699 (ATL).

90. cf Ngata, A., (ed.), Nga Moteatea, Part 1, Wellington, 1959, p60. Matiu and Makaro were the nieces of Kupe. They were left behind as islands in Wellington harbour.

PART II: TE UA AND THE HAUHAU FAITH

CHAPTER IV: MAORI CHRISTIANITY BEFORE THE HAUHAU

Scholarly discussion of the Maori response to Christianity in the nineteenth century has concentrated on the first period of conversion and the independent Maori religious movements which drew on the Christian bible for their beliefs. In both these areas recent work has downplayed the impact of missionaries and Christianity on the Maoris.

In the Oxford History of New Zealand, J.M.R. Owens says, 'In general, missionaries had an effect quite other than they intended: they prepared the Maoris for a secular world.'¹ In Owens' view the 'social situations' of the Maoris were 'the context not the main cause' of their conversion to Christianity. He emphasises the role of improvements in the quality of the missions' personnel and methods in creating the enthusiasm for the faith which characterised the later 1830s. Owens deals with the nature of Maori Christianity in one sentence: 'Among those who formally accepted missionary teaching there was every variety of belief and practice.'² On the other hand he devotes about three quarters of a page to Papahurihia, the only syncretic cult of any significance in the 1830s. This emphasis given Papahurihia is undeserved, for while Papahurihia was recrudescant throughout the century, its following bears no comparison with that of Maori Christianity.

1. Owens, J.M.R. 'New Zealand before Annexation' in The Oxford History of New Zealand, Wellington, 1981, p38.

2. *ibid.*

Another writer in the same volume, Ann Parsonson, stresses the continuity of traditional beliefs and practices in the nineteenth century and even their revival.³ She gives almost as much space to Kaingarara, a nativistic cult which existed briefly and locally in Taranaki in 1857, as she does to Hauhauism, which had followers in every tribal grouping south of Auckland in the North Island and which it took nearly ten years and the might of empire to suppress. Parsonson considers that the Maoris looked on Christianity, and in particular its bait - literacy - as a means of expanding the competition which she sees as 'the basis of inter-hapu and inter-tribal relations.'⁴ She also pronounces the King Movement, which was the most significant application of Christian ideology to emerge in the pre-wars period, a 'notable failure'⁵ because she judged it in terms of political shortcomings rather than ideological success. Keith Sinclair sees the King Movement as a rejection of European influence⁶ and Sorrenson agrees with Parsonson that the King Movement was a failure. He says however, that it lived on as an embodiment of Maori cultural identity - a 'bulwark for Maori ideals and values'.⁷ It is difficult to equate such a bulwark

3. Parsonson, Ann. 'The Pursuit of Mana' in The Oxford History of New Zealand, Wellington, 1981, pl43.

4. *ibid.*, pl40

5. *ibid.*, pl55

6. Sinclair, K., The Origins of the Maori Wars, (2nd ed.), Wellington, 1961.

7. Sorrenson, M.P.K., 'The Maori King Movement, 1858-1885' in Studies of a Small Democracy, (R. Chapman & K. Sinclair eds.), Auckland, 1963, pp33-55.

with failure.

Harrison Wright, in an older but influential work,⁸ was among the first to attempt to see the conversion of the Maoris from the Maori side of the cultural fence. He suggested that Christianity was to the Maoris a technology whereby they might gain access to the wealth and success of the Pakehas. His book covered the period of conversion before 1840, and for that period his thesis has much merit; but the relative lack of studies for the period 1840-1860 has meant that his ideas have sometimes been assumed to have a universal application. Paul Clark for instance, endorses Wright's interpretation of Maori Christianity as a technology and gloats over his destruction of the myth of an orthodoxy which the missionaries might in many respects recognise. Clark says that the Maoris' faith had never been what the missionaries thought it was,⁹ but that by the 1860s Christianity had failed even in the Maoris' own terms, that is, as a ritual whose correct observance would provide the kind of success which the Pakehas possessed. This left the field clear for the emergence of Hauhauism, a syncretic cult which offered a Maori solution to the problems of acculturation.¹⁰

Most of the historians mentioned agree in emphasising elements of continuity in Maori thought and some explicitly minimise the extent of the Maori 'conversion' as assessed by the criteria of orthodox Christianity. It is pointless to

8. Wright, Harrison. New Zealand 1769-1840: Early years of Western contact, Cambridge, Mass. 1959.

9. Clark, P., Hauhau, Auckland, 1975, p103.

10. *ibid.* p102

argue the importance of change over continuity in nineteenth century Maori society in a general sense; there are as many answers to that question as there are aspects of Maori society and criteria of evaluation. Continuity and change frequently coexisted, as the following example shows. At Kawhia in mid-1865 two hundred Waikato prisoners of war who had made a celebrated escape from the Auckland prison island of Kawau were returned home. They were welcomed with ceremony which lasted for hours. The prisoners displayed the mana they had acquired in their enforced contact with the Pakeha enemy by wearing all their European clothes. Some wore their trouser legs rolled up in order to display a second pair below.¹¹ This vignette supports Parsonson's case for the continuity of the competitive society, as it embodies the traditional penchant for displaying wealth in group encounters. Yet the fact that the encounter took place at all demonstrates a marked discontinuity with classical culture. In pre-European times both the prisoners of war and their relatives would have considered men taken in battle as non-persons. They would neither have sought, nor been granted, re-admittance to their tribe. This discontinuity is, in principle, as important as the tribe's continuing competitiveness. The Kaingarara cult provides another example. Its followers went about destroying ancient tapu which were feared to be the cause of illnesses among a generation who desecrated them in ignorance of their existence. While the cultists' belief show that for some, tapu continued powerful, both the idea of destroying tapu for ever and the ignorance concerning

11. 'A day with the Pai Marire', DSC 16 Jun 1865, p5

it would have been unthinkable in classical Maori society. Kaingarara ran its course in a matter of months, because it could not provide the kind of answers which Maoris were seeking.

To elevate either the elements of continuity or the elements of change into the 'essence' of Maori society in any period is to fall into what D.H. Fischer has called the 'Fallacy of Essences'.¹² It is far more fruitful to avoid such metaphysical judgements and to note, for example, that the mid-century ^{institutions which survived} with the least disturbance were those which the Pakeha world encouraged, or which had practical or psychological value under the new conditions. Competition was high when Maoris indulged in approved activities, especially land-selling.

When classical institutions and modes of thought did not meet the new demands created by the arrival of the Pakeha, they fell into disuse. This can be illustrated by the history of changes in Maori religious practice and belief. The Maoris initially apprehended Christianity through the only thought system available to them - that of their own past. Interpreting Christianity in the light of classical Maori religion, they assumed that it too, was a 'magical' religion in the sense that correct ritual would coerce the new spiritual power into action on a client's behalf. If this interpretation of the new religion stemmed from the classical world, it was the fractures which were appearing in the unity of that world which helped to make the ideology of the new faith attractive. The 1820s

12. Fischer, D.H., Historians' Fallacies, London, 1971. pp68-70

had breached the order of classical reality through wars whose scale and conduct were outside Maori experience, through the introduction of ways of living which seemed independent of religious restrictions, and through comparisons between the two races whose implications were becoming odious. By the 1830s, insecurity about an unknown future and an increasingly irrelevant past were creating the 'felt need' which Firth suggests is a pre-condition for the adoption of cultural imports.¹³ As confidence in the 'magical' efficacy of their ancestral religion declined, Maoris sought a new and more powerful spiritual technology in Christianity and its vital fringe benefit - literacy. This is one important explanation of the mass conversions of the 1830s.

The magical view of causality soon failed in the Christian context, just as it had in the classical context following contact with the Pakeha. Christianity met some of the needs of Maori society in its new circumstances, but it was clearly not the cause of the Pakehas' success which Maoris had imagined it to be. As a result, in the later 1840s enthusiasm for mission schools and services declined¹⁴ as Maoris sought the key to the achievements of the Pakehas in more practical technologies. The 1850s were years of technological innovation and entrepreneurial competition for financial gain. Waikato Maoris supplied Auckland with

13. Firth, R., Economics of the New Zealand Maori, Wellington, 1959, p436

14. Parr, C.J., Maori Literacy 1843-1867, JPS V. 72 (1963) pp.35-46. In Taranaki the decline was commented on by the missionary John Skevington in 1845. Clover, G.A.M., 'Christianity Among the South Taranaki Maoris 1840-53: A study of the Wesleyan Mission at Waimate South'. Auckland University, 1973. p94

vegetables, Maori-owned vessels were common along the East Coast of the North Island, Chatham Island Maoris were important suppliers of food for the Australian goldfields. Some ventures were erratically organised and some plant was badly maintained, but organisation and discipline were the problems which Maoris began to tackle in the 1850s with experiments in both the forms and the substance of written law and formal government.

By the 1850s Christianity had ceased to be technology in Wright's sense. The longing for magic which grips some people in all cultures was expressed in a number of short-lived cults whose beliefs derived partly from Christianity and partly from older religious ideas, but the appeal of these cults was minor and local. None lasted more than a few months and often the scorn of the missionaries was enough to stop them.¹⁵ Despite the decline in attendance at mission schools and services, most Maoris remained Christian. When the excessive enthusiasm of unrealistic expectations declined Maoris were, by the missionaries criteria, far more orthodox than before. Their Christianity was no longer a materially efficacious spiritual technology; it had become instead a source of ideas: a world view, a code of living, a religion of worship. The missionaries had done their work well: they had successfully nurtured the development of a literate Maori Christian culture which by the 1850s was outgrowing the need for missionaries and embarking on its own course of development. The changes in traditional Maori religious values are illustrated most clearly in the period before the wars by Kingitanga. The King Movement

15. Parr, C.J., 'Before the Pai Marire', JPS Vol 76 (1967) p42.

had a traditional leadership. The first King's acceptability was formally based on his genealogical nobility, and he had increased the mana of his lineage with the exploits of his warrior youth. If autonomous movements among the Maoris 'symbolized Maori disappointment with Christianity',¹⁶ as Paul Clark suggested, then one would expect to find in the King Movement the turning away from Christianity that most of the historians discussed in this chapter assume to have replaced the initial Maori enthusiasm for the Pakeha faith. In particular, one might expect to find an ideology of revitalization which looked for reassurance to the certainties of the Maori past. While the King Movement encouraged expressions of cultural identity such as tattooing, its religion shows a grave Christian orthodoxy. When Potatau was installed as the first king, his inductor, Iwikau Te Heuheu, said:

Potatau, this day I create you King of the Maori People. You and Queen Victoria shall be bound together to be one (pai-here-tia kia kotahi). The religion of Christ shall be the mantle of your protection; the law shall be the whariki mat for your feet, for ever and ever onward (ake ake tonu).¹⁷

Potatau's perception of his responsibilities was equally grave and Christian. The first sentence of this speech, which he made in 1860, was frequently quoted by Kingites at at runanga throughout the island:

Listen! Hold to the faith, to charity and to the law. Whatever should come about the Gospel is not an alienable possession. It is one to be spread abroad

16. Clark, 1975. p104

17. Account by an unnamed Maori. Cowan, James., The New Zealand Wars. A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period, 2 vols, Wellington, 1922. Vol 1 p446

and raised up. Formerly your Maori god was Uenukukai-tangata (Uenuku the man-eater); now he is the great God of Heaven! You must stop the fighting in New Zealand between the Maori and the Pakeha. All wrongdoing, great or small, must be judged according to the provision of the law. Leave it to the evil spirit to rise up and oppress the wrongdoer.¹⁸

Potatau's son, the second Maori King in a rare early pronouncement echoed his father's concerns:

My friends, all men living in this land, a very good day to you; greetings. This is my word to you, the black skinned, whether on the Queen's side or the King's side: shape your ways peaceably, so that you travel in the path of light and righteousness.¹⁹

The kings were not alone in their insistence on the unity of the faith and the law within an ethic of love. The many collections of laws or commandments which Maoris produced all assume the sanctions of the faith, while texts surviving from the 1850s and 1860s show that when they analysed their social and political options, Kingites, Queenites and neutrals alike made use of the ideology of the Christian faith.

Letters between Maoris in the same period suggest that emotions too were expressed in terms of the insights of Christianity by people who could read and write. In both letters and more formal documents traditional Maori ideas

18. Potatau Kingi, 13 Maehe, 1860, Kingitanga MS, 'He Ohaki no te Kingitanga o Potatau Te Wherowhero, o Tawhiao, 1860-70', (AU).

19. Matutaera Potatau MS n.d., Atkinson Papers, MS papers 1187: 15e. (ATL).

and images are introduced in support of a Christian ideology with no sense of strain. Clearly, in the flow of ideas between Maoris, a Christian ideology would not have been used at all if it were not the way the writers thought.

The literacy the Maoris enjoyed has been overlooked by most historians as a source of information about the life of the people because very little Maori writing has been translated. Missionary sources have dominated the field by default, and missionaries were more inclined to dilate on the singularity of the religious ideas of some Maoris than the orthodoxy of the majority. In order to redress the balance, the present author offers the following translations of documents which record Maoris talking and writing in the 1850s and 1860s before Hauhauism gained its following.

The first text is part of a report of the speeches made at Tarawera in 1857 at which peace in the district was confirmed:

Pirika stood, and said: the law for our gathering does not come from man, but from the works of God. For this reason we must hold on to our oneness.

Wiremu stood, and said: Yes, my friends! I was certainly part of that great evil which is now finished. But now my heart has turned in another direction, for I have looked upon the soothing sun of Maruahina, that is, the ways of God.²⁰

The meeting at which the above speeches were made was held to celebrate the end of inter-tribal fighting. The following speech was made at a meeting held to consider how

20. 13 Oct 1857. Te Rangituatahi Te Kawana MSS No. 3 (AU).

the Taranakis should respond to the unlawful purchase of the Waitara block. The meeting was held about a month before the fighting began.

I do not agree that you should begin it...Leave the initiative as to blood to our white-skinned friends, since they it was who brought us the beginning of enlightenment... Let us stiffen the neck of the law, so that it is unyielding. For when it is completely unyielding those who brought us the law will see we have stiffened it, and they will turn again to us. Does the smothering of the law mean it is blinded? I say no! My family, the eye of the law will never be blinded! For the law will turn on and accuse those who brought it to us. As the word of Paul says in Romans, our white-skinned friends say to us, Do not steal, but have themselves stolen; they command us, Do not commit adultery, but have themselves committed adultery, for they have sinned against the law of God.

But oh my sons, my friends, let us conduct ourselves well, let us be meek, so that the blessing of God may rest upon us. As Paul says, if God is for us, who can fight against us?²¹

At Hangatiki in 1857, Ngati Kinohaku held a runanga at which they agreed on laws for their hapu:

This is the agreement of Ngati Kinohaku...that all the things that cause trouble in the world be forbidden. I asked, Have you finished considering these matters? They all cried out, Yes, we have finished. Let us come into your runanga! I said ...Well, you must enter properly. Go back to the

²¹. Hori Ngatai Rakaunui MS, 16 Feb, 1860. (ATL).

road, so that you may enter my runanga properly! If you don't go back to the road, you'll never enter my runanga properly!

Then Paraone Te Kahu Koti stood up and called, Split my head! You are smashing my head! Then I laid open the word of scripture: If your eye or your foot offend you, pluck it out, cast it out, cut it off, cast it out. Believe rather in your Lord Jesus Christ.²²

In September 1861 Ngati Raukawa held a meeting where political differences were thoroughly aired:

Ihakara spoke again: I don't understand this name kupapa²³... however Governor Browne's return was not through wrongdoing, but instead his term was finished. You must keep talking about the real cause of our gathering which for me is that I don't like this Maori King; for you its Governor Browne. But you should hate what I hate - this Maori King. This is my opinion: if this scheme is of man, well, it will just pass away, the Maori King will pass away. But what we do is of the Queen, and the Queen is of God. On the other hand Rota, my opinion is, yours and Rewi's work is of the King. I have discovered that it is a barren cause. Never mind: that which is of man will only pass away. The thing is, that which is of God will never bear fruit while it can perhaps be seen that we fight against God.²⁴

22. 13 Oct 1857 Te Rangituatahi Te Kawana MSS No. 3 (AU).

23. kupapa: neutral: frequently translated wrongly as 'loyalist'.

24. Parakaia Pouepa Tuhangahanga [Polysoc coll.] Atkinson Papers MS papers 1187:1518 (ATL).

The next text, also from 1861, is part of a private letter written by Kataraina Tuahenga of Pito One (Petone) to her 'beloved father' Hairuka te Motukuku. Katairana reminds her father of his duty towards the widow of his older brother - a duty which in pre-European times may well have included marrying her - and then expresses her grief at their apparently endless separation:

It is always so, father, that when we tangi, we must tangi only in spirit, and grieve only in spirit - we never see in the flesh. However, in the works of salvation there is the teaching about seeing, or not seeing, each other in the flesh. If the Saviour wills, we will see in spirit only; if the Saviour wills, we shall see in the flesh! It is in his dispensation - for seeing or not seeing, for life, for death. In God alone is the dispensation of all these things, because in him is salvation for us who are in this condition.²⁵

In 1862 Thomas Smith, Civil Commissioner at Maketu, received the following remarkable letter from the Ngaiterangi chief who led the defence of Gate Pa against the government troops in 1864. The letter is a reminder of how much better Maori relationships with officialdom were in the days - virtually ended by the wars - in which officials spoke Maori; but its chief significance is that it shows how the 'inalienable possession' of the faith was unshaken by the necessity of fighting the government. Puhirake obviously viewed that necessity with regret. The letter is also, apparently, the origin of the chivalrous codes by which Ngaiterangi fought at Gate Pa:

25. Kataraina Tuahenga to Hairuku te Motukuku, 26 Dec 1861, Atkinson Papers, MS papers 1187:15b (ATL).

May 3, 1862

Sir,

Greetings. Greetings in the great mana of our Queen, who looks kindly upon places where the sky is clear. But this place is dark, and therefore I must greet you darkly from this place.

Sir, greetings, greetings. That is all of that. Here is another word: my friend, I have laid down the rules for Ngaiterangi for fighting, namely that we should fight fairly in accordance with the law.

Here it is:

1. Do not kill Pakehas left wounded but leave the wounded to live whether they are Maori or Pakeha.
2. Neither work by stealth.
3. Let the fight be a fair fight.
4. Let our wounded be cared for.

Do not be dark hearted but let a fight be properly proposed. That is all of that.

My friend Mr Smith, I have heard that the General wants to come inland here. But my advice to you is that you should tell your superior to stay away and not come here. That expresses my goodwill toward him. If he persists, very well, it is his decision. You should know however that I will kill the Pakeha, destroy him. That is all of that.

Here also is a message to you: I will soon go out to fight... I have been delayed by my trouble with the fighting men, that is why my going to the fighting was delayed. The swamp does not scare me - what is the swamp to me? Sir, it is God alone that I fear.

That is the end,

From your loving friend, Rawhiri Kingi Puhirake.²⁶

Ngaiterangi's traditional enemy Te Arawa took part in a runanga crammed with accusation and insult in October 1863. It was attended by Bay of Plenty tribes of opposing political philosophies. But, like the anti-Government Ngaiterangi, Queenite Arawa also saw the Christian faith as their authority. In this quotation from a runanga which is also fascinating for its discussion of what Maoriness and Pakehaness meant, Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke, a prominent government supporter, shows a literate awareness that accepting Christianity meant conscious change involving loss as well as gain:

In the countless generations of Maoris who have gone before us, when a noble child was born into a particular hapu, his hapu would say, So and So will grow up as a chief for us. But no! The teeth of another chief were sharpening up to get So and So to eat. When he was killed he was cut up and the skin went to one tribe and the limbs to another, and the head was dried and served as an object of mockery, day and night, year in, year out. The people who survived became property, as slaves and serving men. These are the evil ways of the past. Well, the excellencies of the law are beyond description, they are unsearchable!

My heart is weighed down with the savagery of the past.

[At] the peacemaking at Tauranga in 1845, 11th September... were laid down (1) the peace of Christ, (2) that of the Queen, (3) that of the Maori chiefs of Te Arawa ... that was the day I exchanged my Maori

26. Puhirake to Smith, 3 May 1862; Shortland papers(DuHo).

mana for the mana of England. That was the day of disgust with Maori ways ...

There is a price for every action, and so it is I bought my knowledge of the Queen's law dearly, namely with the leaving behind of my own mana Maori and my uncivilised ways. That is why I stand as a Pakeha.²⁷

In 1863, the Rongowhakaata tribe called a great meeting of many tribes, including Waikato, Ngaiterangi, Ngati Porou and Kahungunu, to discuss the political stance of the Kingites, Queenites and the neutrals, who thought politics could be kept out of religion. Several speakers quoted an old waiata about Kupe to support their view that Maori and Pakeha should stay separate; Kupe was the Polynesian precursor figure who in the Maori version of a widespread myth, divided the islands from the mainland of this country. Most speakers thought that the universal religion of Christianity, not land sales to Pakehas, should be the basis of unity in New Zealand:

Temuere stood: I have seen Kapiti, Maana, Aropawa. The men of those places have different languages. There is Kupe, there is Noah and his children, there is our land. When the Governor arrived, he spoke one language, I another. That is all.

Te Katene stood: however my opinion about that is that it is accomplished, the second word Temuera spoke. The voices of the descendants of Noah, including us, have become one in the faith. Our unity among ourselves is not completely resolved: if there were one leader in the land it would be well. In ancient times Judah had a King and a faith. Now, the faith has come to us, but its companion was left

27. Te Rangikaheke MS, 15 Oct 1863, Shortland papers (DuHo).

behind. Therefore I support the King, because that is the companion of the faith. This is my disagreement with England, it is the reason I established the kingship - not because of a desire to separate the governorship from the kingship. Oh my friends, let us have love for our Pakeha friends, because of our oneness in the one law.²⁸

The most impressive speaker at this meeting was Anaru Matete of Rongowhakaata. Matete was for many years a teacher at the college started by Bishop Williams. He was Wiremu Tamihana's equal as a Christian thinker. Matete was a Kingite, although at this meeting he said he 'kept his Kingism in his heart'. In the course of 1865 he became a Hauhau, and he ended his days as Te Kooti's companion throughout his years as a guerilla fighter. Anaru said:

We say it was Kupe who separated the islands Kapiti, Maana and Aropawa. This is my opinion: let them be separate, let us be one - that is, one in the faith. Listen, all the gathering, Christ is the basis of unity. Let us enter into him, so that we are one. God is a father for us. If he decrees we should live, we live; if he decrees we die, we die. If we live, it is he who will give us the fruits of our land ...

Tiopira of Te Wairoa added:

Come O God, come. Your standing place is the land, your crown the sky. O my friend, I tell you I have agreed to these things: the basis of my unity is that the land should be held. We have made that final, completely final. May Christ stand upon the land!²⁹

The texts translated above could be multiplied many times over from material in public archives. They indicate that by 1864, the year when the Hauhau faith became inter-tribal,

²⁸. Hui nui ki Turanga, 21 Apr 1863, Grey coll. GL: NZ W 38 (3). (AP)

²⁹. *ibid.*

the religious ideology of the tribal leaderships was Christian. This suggests that historians anxious to attribute a pre-conceived idea of what a 'Maori' apprehension of Christianity ought to be, may have missed the point that the introduction of Christianity and literacy among the Maoris produced literate Christian thinkers. Although many of the missionaries had misgivings, they judged the success of their teaching by externals such as sabbath observances and a meek attitude. But the decrease in church attendance and the increase in an attitude of independence, as well as the engagement in secular pursuits, did not necessarily mean a falling away from a Christian world view or a reversion to traditional modes of thought. Indeed, Maori Christianity in this period displayed the confidence, flexibility and autonomy of maturity. Maturity is, for example, reflected in the Hangatiki meeting quoted above. This 1857 runanga decreed that there be no fine for cursing, but that it should be ended by an attitude of kindness towards the offender. The curses of the classical Maori world were life threatening, and so this ruling reflects an emancipation from the past. If the ruling was stretched to cover European cursing, the cure of kindness shows a mildness which shows an emancipation from the severity of European society's view of the offence. Thus the Hangatiki laws were an exercise in Maori self-regulation in accordance with a Christian ethic rather than missionary imposed regulation. It was the literacy of the Maoris' Christianity which contained the seeds of the autonomy which would make the missionaries redundant. The ability to read the Bible rather than simply listen to the missionaries gave Maoris access to

ideas, and ideas produced the King Movement. The Kingites gained a vision of national unity sanctioned by God from the story of the founding of the Israelite kingdoms; the movement had supporters in all the tribes south of Auckland until Waikato's defeat. Literacy also produced the political rationalisation shown in the Rongowhakaata Council of 1863: men like Anaru Matete saw no reason why Maoris and Pakehas should not hold the same universal possession of the faith, but be politically separate. Horn Ngatai Rakaunui, the warrior chief, felt the same. He would fight the Pakehas for his land and rights but he would fight them fairly under their mutual God. It was customary for Maoris engaged in local fighting to withdraw from the missions and their ideology in order to pursue matters that had nothing to do with the Pakehas.³⁰ But the attitudes of the speakers quoted above suggest that by the 1860s, while the Maoris might still withdraw from church, they were no longer in a position to withdraw from the ideology the missionaries had introduced them to, even in war. On the contrary, groups of every shade of opinion in the political ferment of the 1860s looked to Christianity and its companion, the law, for support.

These things suggest that only a movement with a biblical ideology would have the capacity to create a significant following, for it was in Christianity that the Maoris were united. They also suggest that such a movement would claim a determined autonomy from the missionaries. The outbreak of war in 1860 provided the anti-government Maoris with the need for strong religious support. It began to be supplied in 1862, when Te Ua Haumene had a vision from God.

30. See for example, J. Chapman Journal, Vol. 1, p359 (AR).

CHAPTER V: TE UA AND HIS MESSAGE OF DELIVERANCE.

Te Ua was born in Taranaki in the early 1820s. He was captured with his mother in a Waikato raid when he was about three, and spent his youth as a slave at Kawhia.¹ Te Ua was baptised in the Christian faith by a Wesleyan minister, John Whiteley, and took the name of the Old Testament prophet, Zerubbabel, (Horopapera). Horopapera Te Ua Tu-whakararo Tutawake did not attend a mission school but was taught to read and write by fellow slaves among his mother's relations. When the Waikato became Christian they set their slaves free, and Te Ua returned to Taranaki shortly after Governor Hobson arrived in New Zealand. He then became an assistant monitor in the 'Wesleyan connection' under the missionaries Creed and Skevington. When Te Ua reflected on his life before he became a prophet, he remembered that he immersed himself in the study of scripture:

Sometimes I had to conduct the services in the absence of the proper teachers. My heart was moved to search the Scriptures, and I took particular notice of that part which says. 'Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life...'²

Te Ua's superior in the mission was a Maori teacher called Tamati. It is tempting to think that this was Tamati Te Ito, who founded the Kaingarara cult in 1857.³ Fragments survive of a letter Te Ua wrote to Te Ito; the letter is

1. The information on Te Ua's youth comes from his reflections to an unnamed Pakeha after his capture. DSC 16 Mar 1866, pp4-5.

2. Jn 5 : 13

3. Parsonson, Ann. 'The Pursuit of Mana' in The Oxford History of New Zealand, Wellington, 1981, p143.

friendly and domestic.⁴ Te Ua apparently approved Kaingarara's work of destroying tapu. He said in a meeting in 1865:

Destroying tapu things is right. The foolishness of Taranaki was - they did not seek to bind fire.

Therefore God took a power from the people.⁵

Te Ito, on his side, was recorded in the East Coast in 1864 as preaching a message of invulnerability to bullets which parallels that of the Hauhau.⁶ While a stronger connection than friendship between Tamati Te Ito and Te Ua cannot be proved, the link between the two religious thinkers makes it clear that Te Ua was acquainted with the variety of religious ideas by which Maoris attempted to explain and regulate their experience.

Taranaki fostered its share of cults. In 1845 the Warea Delusion⁷ claimed that Christ had come again in the person of a Maori named Jacob, and that all nations were to worship him. The cultists believed that the Trinity lived within them, therefore they needed no Bible. Warea was anti-missionary, believed in new revelations and used the benediction 'Amen' in ways that are reminiscent of the Hauhau's use of 'Hau' in the 1860s. Warea was said to have attracted its greatest following among Wesleyans, but it lasted only a few months. In the same year some Maoris took up flagellation as a means of grace on what they interpreted as St Paul's instructions.⁸ Wahi Tapu

4. Horopapara to Tamati Te Ito, [date destroyed]. Te Ua signs himself by the name he used before he became a prophet, therefore this letter is pre-1862.

5. Ua Gospel Notebook, p57.

6. Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri, Akuhata 20 1864.

7. Parr, 'Before the Pai Marire' (see p75), pp40-41.

8. I Co 9 : 26

arose in 1851 and conducted tapu destroying ceremonies which combined traditional Maori and Christian elements. Te Ua probably knew of these cults, but his opinion of them is not recorded.

It is less likely that Te Ua was well versed in the religious thought of the Maori past. He was a member of a tribe which had suffered defeat and dispersal, and he spent his boyhood far from home without status. Training in esoteric learning was given only to chosen boys from high-born families, but even among prosperous tribes this learning was falling into decay by 1850.⁹

Te Ua's sojourn with the missionaries did not last long. Charles Creed, one of the two missionaries Te Ua named as his superiors, was removed in 1844 on account of sexual misconduct. John Skevington, a dedicated worker who nevertheless did not speak Maori, died suddenly in 1845. Within five years, the Waimate station was abandoned after relations between missionaries and Maoris soured.

Te Ua's activities in the 1850s are sketchily known. Te Ua 'highly disapproved' of the intra-tribal feuding in Taranaki which preceded the Waitara purchase because he said, 'my conduct was influenced by the Bible, which I was constantly reading. 'Everything went on calmly and smoothly with [him]'

9. Grey, one of the foremost collectors of classical Maori literature lamented that the language and meanings of ancient songs were 'nearly or quite unintelligible to many of their best instructed young men' by the early 1850s. Ko nga moteatea, me nga hakirara o nga Maori, ed. George Grey, Wellington, 1853.

until the fighting began over the disputed purchase of the Waitara block. Te Ua went to the fighting, continuing 'to pray and hold services' among the soldiers of Wiremu Kingi.¹⁰ He himself fought as a soldier, and after the truce was signed in April 1861, he joined the King party.¹¹ 'The way of Taiporohenui is right',¹² Te Ua declared in 1865, in a reference to the councils at which the politics of the King Movement were evolved. By 1861 he was the leader of a Kingite runanga,¹³ one of the deliberative bodies which attempted to order local communities according to the prescriptions of King Movement philosophy. His qualifications for leadership remain uncertain through lack of information, but the available evidence suggests he has some claims to traditional status. He was the uncle of the important chief Erueti, (Te Whiti), and he was the associate of established chiefs. He had the standing or the relationship to greet Wiremu Kingi with affection¹⁴ and in 1861-62, the Taranaki chief Arama Karaka was a co-leader of Te Ua's runanga.¹⁵ Pakeha opinion of Te Ua comes mainly from the period 1864-66, when his standing was based on his

10. DSC, 16 Mar 1866 pp4-5

11. *ibid.*

12. p58.

13. Correspondence between Hapimana Tiroo and Horopapera [Te Ua] 1861-62, Atkinson Papers MS 1187 : 15c. (ATL)

14. Te Ua to Tamati Te Ito, *op.cit.*

15. Hapimana Tiroo to Nopera, Horopapera, Karaka et al, 23 Mar 1862. Atkinson Papers, MS 1187 : 15c. (ATL)

role as a prophet. It is interesting however, that at the end of 1862, Robert Parris , the Assistant Native Secretary, visited Te Ua in response to a summons from the prophet-elect.¹⁶ This power to command suggests that Te Ua was not without standing in traditional terms.

On 1 September 1862, while Te Ua was the leader of a runanga near Te Namu, a mail steamer, the Lord Worsley, ran aground in a storm.¹⁷ All the passengers were saved from the wreck, and they were kept guarded while the Maoris gathered at Te Namu to discuss their fate. It was decided that the Pakehas should pass unharmed through Kingite territory to New Plymouth, as their trespass on Taranaki territory was an act of God and not of Pakeha aggression. On the fourth day however, ammunition was found in the cargo of the ship. Some of the Maoris grew hostile and threatened death to the passengers. Eventually moderate counsels prevailed, and they were allowed to leave unharmed. Te Ua was present at the discussions on the fate of the passengers of the Lord Worsley, and was among those who wished to treat them kindly,¹⁸ but according to Kingite rules.¹⁹ It was on the fifth day of the wreck, after the principle of kindness was threatened by the discovery of the ammunition, that Te Ua had a vision of the national salvation of the Maori children of Israel.

16. Parris to Col. Sec. 8 Dec 1864, AJHR 1865 E-No. 4, p5, No. 4.

17. The Lord Worsley papers in the Grey Collection (AP) are the source of the information about the wreck.

18. Parris op.cit.

19. p33.

Te Ua said he was lying troubled when he felt as if someone was shaking him, and saying, 'Who is this sleeping? Rise up! Rise up!'²⁰ He then entered a trance during which the Angel Gabriel, whom he called Ruler, appeared to him and announced that he had come to bring 'those very days' which had been shown to the apostle John at Patmos. The vision temporarily unhinged Te Ua. One of the passengers from the Lord Worsley described his strange behaviour and Te Ua himself reflected in 1864 that:

my people did not understand my circumstances.
Indeed they thought I was mad.²¹

The charge of madness was also made by Robert Parris. He recalled that a few months after the vision Te Ua was considered a madman by his people and was kept guarded. Te Ua on the other hand looked upon his difficult circumstances in this period as the validation of his right to preach. He told Parris:

... on a certain day he was in his house and fell asleep, and was in a trance, when a great light descended from heaven and a voice called to him to rise and stand on his feet, when he saw a great multitude of every race on earth. A voice then said to him Horopapera go out of your house, take your son and kill him. Horopapera took his son and twisted the leg until the bone broke in several places. A voice then cried, Horopapera, spare your son. The Angel Gabriel then said take your son and wash him in

20. The versions of his vision which Te Ua told Parris in 1864 and a reporter in 1866 are consistent with the account in the Ua Gospel.

21. p34.

water. He took his son to a river called Wairau... and washed him and the leg was restored whole as the other.²²

This incident echoes the biblical account of the trial of Abraham's faith which established his special relationship with God. When Abraham showed his willingness to sacrifice his son Isaac, God rewarded him with a covenant which made Israel His chosen people.²³ In the first chapter of the Ua Gospel, when Te Ua reflected on his vision, he compared himself with St Peter, who was freed from prison by God's intervention:

And so, my elders did not remember the circumstances of Peter: the door of the prison was opened for him by the Angel of God, and his bonds were loosed. Three times likewise I was bound in chains, and three times they were loosed by the Angel.²⁴

In this recounting of the circumstances of his preferment, Te Ua followed a tradition established in the prophetic books of the Old Testament.²⁵

Te Ua assembled the elements of belief and worship which were characteristic of the Hauhau in the period immediately following his vision. A document of October 1862 shows that the trinitarian prayers to the God of Goodness and Peace were already established as part of his thinking²⁶ and when he summoned Robert Parris a few months later, he made the

22. Parris op.cit.

23. Gn 17 : 1-21

24. p34

25. Introduction to the Prophets, Jerusalem Bible, London, 1966, pp1116-1117

26. Te Ua MS, [] Oct 1862, Atkinson Papers MS 1187:15c. (ATL).

mystified Secretary walk in a circle with him while he muttered some prayers.²⁷ While this behaviour confirmed Te Ua's madness to Parris, the scene shows the beginnings of the service at the Newspole.²⁸ The earliest chapter of the Ua Gospel was also written as early as January 1863. It shows that Te Ua was preaching a message which told of the special relationship of the Maori people to God. The missionaries must go home, he said, 'for this is Israel'.²⁹

The idea of such a relationship had been preached by all the evangelical missionaries in New Zealand. Samuel Marsden saw in the Maoris' competitiveness evidence that they were a casualty of the Jewish dispersion. He thought the ideas behind their cannibalism so singular that 'one would be led to think it had been derived from divine revelation.'³⁰ Richard Taylor thought that the Maoris were Jews who had degenerated as they wandered through the world until they reached their lowest state in New Zealand.³¹ Te Ua said that the Maoris were a 'holy people' who were descended through Abraham from the house of Shem, the son of Noah. God had revealed to him that the Maoris were to be restored to the promises given to Abraham, the father of the chosen people. God promised Abraham's descendants prosperity in a permanent homeland:

And I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee...all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will be their God.³²

27. Parris op.cit.

28. Which became the universal badge of the Hauhau faith.

29. p40.

30. Binney, J., 'Papahurihia: some thoughts on interpretation', in JPS V. 75 p325.

31. Taylor, R., Te Ika a Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants, London, 1855, p8.

Te Ua said:

God has told me many times that his forgetful, naked-standing people in the half-standing land shall be restored, even to that which was given unto Abraham, for this is Israel.³²

The source of the appeal of Te Ua's message lay in a promise of deliverance derived from the apocalyptic writings of the Bible. Te Ua said that his vision was not a new one, but recreated that which was given to St John in the Book of Revelation:

My friends, it was a thing commanded by the Spirit to the Angel, so that salvation may be revealed to this generation, in the very same way as it was revealed to John...by the Spirit at Patmos...It is that very same Ruler who has now appeared unto you, and surely brings these days to his people. Whereupon let the glory of the Most High God be praised.³³

John's revelation was written when the early church was suffering persecution. He saw in his vision the sufferings to come before the persecutors would be annihilated, the dead would rise, the day of judgement would take place and the New Jerusalem would be established. Revelation also looks forward past the end of world history to the perfect Kingdom of heaven.

In another version of the account of his vision, Te Ua reinforced its biblicity by paraphrasing Revelation 7:1-3 :

I have seen the figures of four Angels standing on the four corners of the land, saying, Let not the wind blow upon the sea, nor on the earth, nor on any

³². p40.

³³. p34.

tree. I saw a figure whose name was Ruler Son, having with him the seal of the living God. He called out, saying, Hurt not the land nor the people till I seal the servants of God on their foreheads.³⁴

Two days later Te Ua wrote a letter to Tamihana Te Waharoa saying that all the secrets of old had been told to him and were now sent out to the East, West, North and South:

He[the Angel] says, enter into his Posts.³⁵ O people ei, turn to me. Your God has stood on the homeland of Canaan. Through his love to His people you are restored upon your rock, who is Jehovah of Hosts.³⁶

Te Ua urged Te Waharoa to 'close the doors of the sword', that is, to cease fighting, because another, supernatural sword, was to fight for the people:

This is the sword which has been given forever by Jehovah of Hosts, the sword which He gave to Sampson, to Gideon, the same sword which also delivered Israel from the hand of the Philistines and the Midianites, namely, Gabriel Ruler the Angel. Friends, he has come forth as a remembrance for his people and for his man whom he annointed. That is why I say to you, Bind up all the doors of the land of Canaan.³⁷

His message of hope in God's promise of deliverance for his 'holy people' was supported by words of assurance of God's love. Te Ua said that his vision was 'the love of God... carried to his forgetful, naked-standing people' He declared:

And there was shown to me an Apparition, and his word that he was saying was, Nevertheless my love shall never cease, my truth shall never fail, and that which has come forth shall never pass away. It is an

34. 'He Ohaki' p3.

35. Posts were the senior grade of officers in the faith.

36. 'He ohaki' p10.

37. 'He ohaki' pp9-10.

honourable thing which is freely given to his naked-standing people in the half-standing land.³⁸

For some Maoris Te Ua's promises of deliverance were associated with a transforming conversion experience. Ruihana, a Ngati Tipa chief, was known as a man given to violent passions before he became a Hauhau, and a government official marvelled at the change the new faith had effected in his temper. This letter written by Ruihana seems imbued with the euphoria of salvation:

I am saved: The Wind has come to me. Goodness and Peace. I have seen Jehovah my God. Goodness and Pesce. From that I say I am saved. My sons, the land is saved, Goodness and peace.³⁹

Te Ua prophesied that deliverance was imminent. He gave out the signs, such as the appearance of a white cloud,⁴⁰ but he did not foolishly set specific dates. Indeed, he admonished his enthusiastic followers:

Do not anticipate the Days of Deliverance; rather keep calm.⁴¹

However, in the context of war it seems likely that it was the hope of deliverance which made the most immediate appeal. There are many surviving letters in which it is clear that suffering which would overtake the unrighteous in the end times was a powerful spur to belief. Hauhaus urged their

38. 'He ohaki' p3.

39. Ruihana to Te Putu and Tamihana, 12 Nov 1864, AJHR 1865 E-No.4, p6, No.5.

40. WI 24 Jun 1865, p5.

41. p60.

relatives to join up and be saved from destruction, for 'All Queen's natives will not be spared!'⁴² Some Hauhaus warned their relatives to keep off the road so that it would be clear for the angels to come down to exterminate the Europeans.⁴³ Sometimes the warnings were phrased as threats:

You had better worship and nothing else on that day, for if you leave it until after the great cloud appears and then turn to us, I will utterly drive you into the sea!⁴⁴

A group of Kawhia Maoris wrote to their elder in June 1864, to warn him about the danger that Maoris who remained on the Governor's side were facing:

...Sir, greetings to you who decided to live under the shadow of the Governor...have you heard that we have now found salvation for us and for you too. O Sir, O people, come out lest you be caught in the evil of that fortress. Remember Lot. O sir, O people, this is the right time for you to come out. Hasten! Fire first flickers, creeps along, then bursts into flame. Do not let the Wind come upon you!⁴⁵

In 1864 many apparently believed that the Day of Deliverance would take place. Three men came to Wanganui town to say the prayers which would destroy the Europeans. 'Wait until the days of December, then you will see' wrote a Ngati Tipa chief who gave his address as 'in Canaan'.⁴⁶

42. Tewi Ponaru to Wā Te Wheoro, 6 Oct 1864 AJHR 1864, E-No. 8 p9, Encl. 3 to No. 12.

43. Hone Te One to Meiha Makareka, 9 Jul 1864 AJHR 1865, E-No.4 p38, Encl. 2 to No. 31.

44. Wi Hapi to Tapa, 25 Jun 1865 AJHR 1865, E-No.4 p37, No. 30

45. Tamati et al to Wiremu, 28 Jun 1864 AJHR 1865, E-No.4 p37 Encl. 1 to No. 31.

46. Ruihana op.cit.

The Civil Commissioner at Tauranga reported in November that the Pakehas were all to be destroyed on a 'great day of Deliverance' in late December,⁴⁷ and on Christmas day the Ngaiterangi fled precipitately into the hills to be instructed in the avoidance of the fate of the unrighteous. The Ngaiterangi believed that all Maoris who did not become Hauhau would be destroyed at the end of December, and the Pakehas one month later.

Ngaiterangi's beliefs were echoed on the East Coast in 1865 where it was believed that the battle for deliverance would come in August.⁴⁸ In this region there was an emphasis upon the battles by which deliverance was to be won:

You had better hasten to join us, for when the day comes that I raise the blade of my weapon, I will consider neither relatives nor children, father nor older brother - they will be utterly cut off!⁴⁹

Some Hauhau laid their emphasis on the delights of the dispensation which was to follow the destruction of the unrighteous. They pictured an earthly paradise where all the oppressions and sorrows of the Maori would be vanquished. Their millennial dream included the resurrection of the Maori dead from the beginning of time,⁵⁰ and a command over all the knowledge possessed by Europeans', including their language.⁵¹

47. Clarke to Fox 14 Nov 1864 AJHR 1864 E-No.8, p5, Encl. 1 to No. 6.

48. Ora Rerepu to McLean, 18 Jun 1865, McLean coll, MS papers 32:695 (ATL).

49. Tamihana Ruatapu et al to Governor, 5 Aug 1865, McLean coll. MS papers 32:696 (ATL).

50. HBH 4 May 1865, p2.

51. White to Fox 29 Apr 1864, Justice Dept., Wanganui, 'Resident Magistrate's Court 5' (JC-WG5) Outward Letterbook 1864-5. There is no evidence that Hauhauism bore any resemblance to an Oceanic cargo cult.

The beliefs of some Hauhau, therefore, show a full-blown millennialism which is lacking from Te Ua's recorded writings. Te Ua hoped for deliverance, and he claimed the authority of God for his confidence in its coming. 'If the Maoris as a body, will believe in it,' he was reported as saying in 1864, 'New Zealand shall be rid of the Pakeha'.⁵² At the same time, Te Ua took the orthodox New Testament view that salvation was only for the righteous. As a result, the Ua Gospel Notebook shows far more concern for the life of the faith in the unregenerate world than with the deliverance which he hoped would transform it.

⁵². White to Featherston, 25 Jul 1864 AJHR 1865 E-No.8, p11, No. 15.

CHAPTER VI: THE BIBLICAL BOUNDARIES OF TE UA'S THOUGHT

The murder of the Anglican missionary Carl Volkner in March 1865 outraged the cultural assumptions of the Pakehas. They were strangers in a strange land, and they needed a special certainty that their values were sacred as a bulwark against loss of identity. Missionaries were a primary symbol of the Pakehas' values, which were bitterly mocked in the manner of Volkner's killing. Volkner was the 'first Christian martyr' in New Zealand, and the emotional content of that image meant that the Pakeha opinion of the Hauhau hardened into loathing. It was expressed as a reaffirmation of the cultural gulf between the civilised and the savage:

...the Maori has thrown off the cloak of Christianity which sat so ungracefully on him, and appeared before the world in his true character. Pai Marireism has roused into action all those evil passions which were dormant, but not extinguished, and exhibited him to the world as the bloodthirsty cannibal his fathers were. It has not changed his nature; it has only shown what his nature is.¹

For a century the historiography of the faith was based on sources which reflected a need for cultural revenge. The bold contrasts which it drew between Maori and Pakeha religious thought obscured Robert Parris' assumption that he and Te Ua shared a knowledge of the same God.² Te Ua's

1. 'Pai Marire, The New Religion of the Maoris', by an Army Chaplain, in Good Words, 1 Oct 1865, p728. (ATL).

2. When Parris went to see Te Ua at the end of 1862 he said 'nothing had been heard of a new religion', although he described the ceremonies and prayers which were typical of the Hauhau faith in Te Ua's lifetime.

faith was considered to be a parody or a perversion of Christianity; Te Ua himself was called mad.

The importance of Paul Clark's study, which appeared a hundred years after the murder of Carl Volkner, lay in his exposure of the ethnocentrism of previous work. Clark was sensitive to indications of Maori cultural autonomy. He stressed the view that the solution Te Ua offered to the problems of acculturation was 'uniquely Maori', meaning, apparently, that its special significance was in its differences from the Pakehas' religion. This approach meant that Clark was not much interested in the nature of Te Ua's conception of Christianity. He said:

Words like orthodoxy and unorthodoxy in this context are irrelevant, for the means of measurement are European .³

However Clark's own use of the words 'syncretic', and 'polytheistic' and 'pacifist' to describe the Hauhau faith betray the inevitability of such terms in a study which asks questions which belong to the analysis rather than the experience of the faith.

The examination of Te Ua's writings reveals boundaries to his thought which are consistent with an orthodox understanding of the Bible. Te Ua linked the missionaries' identification of the Maoris as Israelites to the message of the end times contained in the prophetic books of Daniel, Zechariah and Revelation. The strength of the message lay in its biblical authority: Te Ua's own strength as its disseminator derived likewise from the biblical correctness of his preferment by

³. Clark, P., Hauhau, Auckland, 1975. p103.

God. This strong commitment to the Bible challenges Clark's argument that Te Ua established no orthodoxy in his teachings, but was content with his followers' 'total commitment to his simple message of love and peace'.⁴ Love and peace are indeed prominent in the Ua Gospel, but they always appear as the standard for the internal conduct of the life of the faith, and not, as Clark suggests, as the message which attracted and sustained the faithful. In the Ua Gospel conduct was measured against maxims and proverbs which were biblical in origin or tone. Only one of the images employed by Te Ua - about the foolishness of the cicada which does not prepare for winter - is a classical Maori fable.⁵ 'Seek diligently', Te Ua told the 'thoughtful heart', and reminded them that 'only by prayer and fasting' can the truths of old be uncovered.⁶ 'Continually entreat God and practice love to seek salvation' he told the Dukes.⁷ The Seers were told that the proverb for them is 'Your word is a lamp unto my feet, a light unto my pathway'.⁸ 'Never let your manner be called a reproach for the foolish' he admonished all the people 'for they are like the weed which withers up in the summertime'.⁹

The eclecticism which has been ascribed to Te Ua's teaching cannot be found in his maxims and proverbs. It

⁴ Clark, op.cit. p76.

⁵ Stowell, H.M., Maori and English Tutor, Wellington, [n.d.] p135.

⁶ p43.

⁷ p44.

⁸ ibid.

⁹ p48.

consists of the assured way in which he manipulates the teachings of the Old and New Testaments. Leviticus 19 : 15, for example says:

Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgement: thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honour the person of the mighty.

In the New Testament, Matthew 7 : 1-2 says:

Judge not, that ye be not judged. For with what judgement ye judge, ye shall be judged.

Te Ua combined the passages into one:

One word to the judges; the word is see that you do not now make wrong judgements, since you will be judged in like manner. Neither look in the face of the destitute, nor honour the face of the mighty.¹⁰

The confidence of Te Ua's appropriation of scripture to validate his calling, describe his vision and admonish the faithful suggests that the Bible formed the boundaries of his religious thought. The Ua Gospel Notebook offers evidence that God also stood at the centre of Te Ua's perception of political reality, as both the source and the judge of the Maoris' distressed condition:

That which is of God has been altogether despised, indeed we have said he is a false God. Let us not say the destitution came from God. No; it was from mocking the words of God.¹¹

Look upon your enemies: through what did they stand? Through paying heed to the law, through respecting their leaders, For that is the law of our God -

¹⁰. p45. See also Clark, op.cit. ppl32-137 for a slightly incomplete version of the adaptation of Genesis 49 with which Te Ua blessed the King.

¹¹. p46.

respecting, and paying heed.¹²

He teaches us as we do our children...Understand that the striking of the lash is teaching you. If you will not listen He increases the lash.¹³

These utterances are for the men of the King's Council ...How should they act in order to perceive? They must seek out and search for what? For the power of the God of Peace.¹⁴

These passages show that Te Ua conceptualised human experience in terms of a relationship with God. It is difficult therefore, to see room in Te Ua's perception for a function which might be performed by other gods. Te Ua has been called a tohunga who was versed in traditional Maori lore and who communicated with the gods in classical style.¹⁵

12. p48.

13. p47.

14. p42.

15. Lyons, D.P. 'An analysis of Three Maori Prophet Movements' in I.H. Kawharu, ed., Conflict and Compromise, Wellington, 1975, p73. Clark, 1975, pp81-82: 'Communication with the Pai Marire gods was in the tradition of tohunga inspiration from their atua'. Webster, P.J. 'Maungapohatu: The mountain of the Lord', Victoria University, 1971 : says that Christianity increased the number of gods for whom the tohunga acted as mediums (pp 211-217), and Clark comments: 'Christianity could be said to have invigorated the tohunga tradition'. (p82). While the difference between a tohunga's inspiration and the inspiration of the Old Testament prophets might seem minimal to an observer who stands outside both religious traditions, nineteenth century Maori prophets and law codes based on Christianity, insisted on it. King Tawhiao, for example, set out a list of prohibitions in 1877 which said that 'Maori tohunga' and 'Maori karakia' were to be totally suppressed should they rise again. 'He Ohaki', pp22-23.

There is no evidence in the Ua Gospel Notebook of the existence of Maori gods in Te Ua's cosmology. Te Ua is, on the contrary, anxious that the ways of the past in which they functioned be suppressed:

Quarrelling is always wrong: they will soon set to work and eat each other again. As for that - bind it!¹⁶

Now another saying is, let witchcraft be cast out. O people who are clinging to witchcraft - cast it out. This is a gospel of peace, an excellent saying, that that thing be left behind you, lest you say that trouble comes from the God of Peace.¹⁷

A word of advice to the holy people of God the Creator: do not look upon the days of ignorance. That is all.¹⁸

These injunctions do not mean that Te Ua rejected Maoriness. He was a judicious selector. He gave a reasoned argument for the abandonment of witchcraft: if it was efficacious against the enemy (the Pakeha), it would have been retained, but seeing that it was only strong against fellow Maoris, it must be cast off.¹⁹ On the other hand he encouraged the practice of customs which affirmed his perception of Maoriness:

But well-intentioned pastimes - the peaceable song the peaceable haka, the peaceable lullaby, the peaceable tattoo of the face, lip and chin - those are the pastimes for gatherings.²⁰

16. p41

17. p42

18. p43. When Te Ua spoke of the 'days of old' or 'the ancients', he meant biblical times.

19. p45.

20. *ibid.*

Te Ua's approval shows that he rejected the equation of Christian propriety with a Pakeha life-style, but at the same time, the proper conduct of the people was subject to biblical strictures. Te Ua clothed his understanding of the Maoris' present condition and future hopes in biblical image, figure and incident. His relationship to the God of the Bible expressed all the moods of an orthodox conception: he worshipped, in the songs to the Trinity; he marvelled that God should choose the 'least of men of the Taranaki tribe';²¹ he supplicated: 'Turn towards us, O Jehovah';²² he sought: 'O Jehovah, here am I exhausting my heart to seek all your ways';²³ he trusted: 'Jehovah is my shepherd; I shall never want for any good thing'.²⁴

Nothing in the Ua Gospel suggests a reversion to older Maori concepts of spiritual forces or an attempt to relate to the 'new' God in ways which were proper to those concepts. On the contrary Te Ua showed a mature grasp of Christianity which enabled him to sift the Maori past for practices which fitted his biblical conception of peace and harmony within the community of the faith. All of these things are consistent with belief in the claims the Bible makes for the exclusive deity of one true God, and therefore it seems necessary to re-examine the evidence for the alleged exist-

21. Te Ua MS [] Oct 1862, Atkinson papers MS: 1187 Folder C. (ATL).

22. p48.

23. p50.

24. p63.

ence of Ruler (Rura) and Lord (Riki) as new gods in Te Ua's assumed pantheon.

Clark's unwillingness to enquire into the biblical orthodoxy of Te Ua's religious thought means, paradoxically, that he accepts the judgement of older studies, that the polytheism of the Hauhau faith was proof of its 'Maoriness'. To the Trinity and the Old Testament name for God, Jehovah, Clark adds the two new gods, Ruler and Lord, which he describes as 'Te Ua's own creation'. Of this traditional reconstruction of the Hauhau cosmology Clark says:

The Pai Marire system of deities goes to the heart of its theology. Eclecticism is epitomised by Te Ua's array of gods.²⁵

The Trinity, Jehovah, Ruler and Lord all appear in the Ua Gospel. They do so within a framework of biblical orthodoxy which is inconsistent with the eclecticism of an 'array of gods'.

There are few references to Ruler and Lord in the Ua Gospel Notebook, which alone suggests that these figures do not have co-equal importance with God in Te Ua's conception of deity. Te Ua uses the short form 'Rura' only once, and in the few other references he uses Rura's full name, Kapariera Rura. Kapariera is a transliteration of 'Gabriel' and Rura is a transliteration of 'Ruler'. In the bible Gabriel is one of the two archangels, while 'ruler' is not a person's name but a function. In Revelation, however, the function of ruling is given to an angel. The identification of Gabriel Ruler with the archangel Gabriel is confirmed by

25. Clark, op.cit. p79.

the similarities of their function.

The name Riki may be a contracted transliteration of the English word 'archangel', but is more probably a contraction of the Maori word ariki, which means 'lord'. The name Riki itself does not occur in the Ua Gospel or in any of Te Ua's reported speeches, but Riki is probably identical with the angel 'Ariki Mikaera' who is mentioned once. 'Mikaera' is a transliteration of the English name Michael, so that the person referred to is 'the angel Lord Michael'. This is probably the archangel Michael of the bible who has the warlike functions commonly associated with Riki in the 1860s.²⁶

Angels have two roles in the bible. They act as a heavenly host who praise God and manifest his glory, and alone or as a host, they act as His messengers or agents in the world. Angels abound in both Testaments, but they are especially prominent in the Revelation of St John which records the original vision which was given anew to Te Ua. Most biblical angels are distinguished only as 'the angel of the Lord' but the two named angels of the Bible, Gabriel and Michael, epitomise the functions of all angels. Gabriel appears twice in the Old Testament and twice in the New Testament as the messenger of God. He brings the prophet Daniel visions of the end times when a Son of Man shall rule forever over a perfect kingdom of the saints, and he

26. Te Ua told Parris that when the Lord Worsley was wrecked, the angels Gabriel and Michael and a host of ministering spirits came ashore. Parris to Col. Sec., 8 Dec 1864 AJHR 1865 E-No.4, p5, No.4.

is the angel of the annunciation of the births of John the Baptist and the Christ. Like Gabriel, Michael is mentioned four times in the Bible. In the Old Testament Book of Daniel, Michael is a supernatural prince who fights the enemies of God's people at the head of his host of angels. In Revelation, again with his angels, Michael vanquishes the Devil and his angels, who are cast out from heaven.

The function of angels in the Ua Gospel is similar to that of their biblical counterparts. Gabriel Ruler is the angel who shows Te Ua his vision. His function is to lead his blessed and glorified people in songs of praise to the Trinity and Jehovah:

You have been glorified, O Jehovah,
Throughout the world.

Yours is the glory,
Yours is the glory,
Yours is the glory,
Rire, Hau!²⁷

These songs were intoned slowly, after the manner of the responses in liturgical denominations, as the faithful walked slowly around the fence of the Newspole with their arms raised in prayer.²⁸ Gabriel Ruler gives his people many songs in the Ua Gospel; Lord Michael offers them only one prayer, which is like the transliterative chants of the School section:

Scotland, Michael, my father, the glory, news, holy

27. p52

28. White to Fox, 17 Aug 1864, AJHR 1864 E-8 pl2 No. 15

father, Shem, the glory, glory...

To...rire...rire...rire...Hau!²⁹

The duplication of their names and the similarity in their functions suggests that Gabriel Ruler and Lord Michael are indeed the biblical angels Gabriel and Michael, supernatural figures who nevertheless cannot function independently of God. It is not possible to deduce from the Ua Gospel much more than the angelic identity of these figures, but other documents add evidence that Te Ua made a biblical distinction in the functions of the two archangels.

One of the tenets of the faith recorded by John White is that 'the angel Gabriel with his legions will protect (the Hauhaus) from their enemies'.³⁰ A speech Te Ua made in August 1864 seems to confirm that this belief carried the authority of the prophet. When the Waikato tribes came to see him, Te Ua retold his vision in a speech which differed slightly from the Ua Gospel version in that it included a little more of the text of the Book of Revelation. Te Ua said that, like John, he saw an angel who sealed God's servants on their foreheads to preserve them from the sorrows to come.³¹ The protective function of Ruler in this paraphrase of the bible therefore, suggests the biblicity of the White tenet regarding supernatural protection. Another of the White tenets says: 'Legions of angels await the bidding of the priests to aid the Maoris in exterminating

29. p39.

30. White to Fox, 29 Apr 1864, AJHR 1864 E-8 p10 No. 15.

31. Rv 7 : 3

the Europeans'.³² This suggests the host which the archangel Michael leads into battle. In the Book of Revelation Michael's battle is followed by a promise which it is tempting to think was beloved by Te Ua:

And I heard a loud voice saying in heaven, now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God ...for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before God day and night.³³

Certainly Riki (Lord) was the legend on a red flag which Hauhaus on the East Coast carried into war, and the identification of this figure with war seems to have been generally assumed in the 1860s. The identification of Lord Michael with the archangel Michael makes it likely that Michael is the subject of the White tenet regarding the supernatural army which will fight for the Maoris. This shows again the biblicity of Te Ua's beliefs.

A Maori who fought with the Hauhau at Te Morere in April 1864 recalled that the songs or chants of the School section of the Ua Gospel Notebook were included in the religious service that preceded the battle.³⁴ If these chants are in some way connected to the warrior angel Michael, as his prayer in the Gospel suggests, their inclusion in the spiritual preparation for war seems to be explained.

32. White op.cit.

33. Rv 12 : 10

34. Te Kahu-pukoro to Cowan in Cowan, 1922, Vol 2, pp22-26.

Historians have unfortunately pushed the contrast between a protective Gabriel and a militant Michael too far, treating them as twin but opposite deities of Peace and War. Clark for instance, says that 'a sort of dialectical relationship existed between them',³⁵ and that the 'antithesis of Riki and Rura, War and Peace, implies that Te Ua recognised the difficulties of eliminating one of these elements immediately'.³⁶ There is little more justification for this rigid dichotomy than there is for regarding the two arch-angels as gods. Te Ua and the Bible ascribe no specifically warlike functions to Gabriel, but they do not ascribe him an explicit role as a guardian of peace either. Moreover, 'Rura' as well as 'Riki' figured as the legends on flags carried into war.³⁷ Many Hauhau converts did not distinguish between the two, but looked on 'the angel' as an awesome supernatural figure who would both save the righteous and destroy the unbelieving. Whether the two figures are seen as the avenging arm of God or as his protecting wing, Gabriel Ruler and Lord Michael are much more united by their status as angels than they are divided by function.

35. Clark, op.cit. p81.

36. *ibid.*

37. Patara had a red flag called Ruler Son which the Hauhau had got up 'so that Patara will be strong to fight'. The identification of Patara's party as peaceful and Kereopa's as warlike is incorrect. Runanga at Turanga, 22 Jul 1865, McLean coll. MS papers 32:695. (ATL).

The evidence which has been brought forward in this chapter shows that in Te Ua's conception of it, the Hauhau faith did not fall outside the Judaeo-Christian tradition in either its cosmology or its ethics. There was no opposition in Te Ua's mind between Maoriness and the teachings of the Bible. This suggests that the way in which the Hauhau worshipped would also reflect biblical tradition. But, for a people who called themselves Jews their choice of tradition was somewhat suprising.

CHAPTER VII: THE CEREMONIES OF THE HAUHAU FAITH

Hauhau ritual has exercised the fascination of the perverse over the minds of those who have attempted to explain the nature of the faith. The ritual which followed the murder of Mr Volkner, in particular, seemed to point to a reversion to the customs of the Maori past: Volkner's head was cut off, his blood was drunk, and Kereopa, the prophet from Taranaki, swallowed his eyes. The acts took place in the minister's own church, and this added to the reversion thesis the spice of a gross blasphemy.

The indignities performed on the body of Volkner were a deliberate revival of classical images and actions which expressed anger at Europeans. There are many indications of Te Ua's anti-missionary stand, but as Clark has pointed out, the murder was contrary to Te Ua's instructions.¹ More

-
1. Te Ua's instructions have survived. They say: '...Let [the head] be properly carried. Do not let anyone cause it to be misused, as it was in [Matene] Rangitauira's improper usage of that other of my teachings to the land. I say let this one of my teachings be properly carried throughout the land, so that it may reach Te Kani aright. He is to give it in a proper fashion to his Pakeha relatives. This letter is to be read in all the villages...' Copy of Te Ua letter, 8 Dec 1864, Grey coll., GL:NZW38 (7), (AP).

Te Ua's teaching regarding the head is not recorded in his writings apart from this letter. One of the tenets collected by White was: 'The people who adopt this religion will shortly drive out the whole European population of New Zealand. This is only prevented now by the head not having completed its circuit of the whole land. (White to Fox, 1864, op.cit.) This suggests that the sending out of the emissaries Patara, Kereopa, Horomona and Tamihana in early 1865 was in fulfillment of the belief collected by White. Eruera Tutawhia who was a member of the party who carried the head to the East Coast, said that Te Ua told them to 'inculcate the faith as they went but not interfere with the Pakehas'. Eruera Tutawhia deposition, 9 May 1865, AGG:HB 65/1245.

important, for our purposes, the treatment of the clergyman's body had no basis in Te Ua's version of Hauhau belief or in the faith's customary ceremonies.

The circumstances surrounding the death of Volkner are a red herring in the investigation of the nature of ritual in the Hauhau faith, but writers have been hardly less fascinated by the ritual at the Newspoles,² the giant flag-bedecked masts where Hauhau worshipped. This

-
2. The word Te Ua used for News[pole] is niu. In classical Maori thought the niu were fern stalks which were used for divination. The sticks were cast on the ground and the positions they lay in determined the omens. Best, E., Maori Religion and Mythology, Part I, (reprint), Wellington, 1976. pp285-6. In the nineteenth century niu or nu was used to transliterate the English word 'news'. The usage survives in the word nupepa, 'newspaper'. Te Ua used niu for the prophecy he was given by the Wind, (see Chapter VIII); King Tawhiao also used niu for his pronouncements to the people (See 'He Ohaki') In 1862 Te Ua told Parris the origin of the pole which was the focus of Hauhau services of worship. He said:

The Angel Gabriel then said to him, 'Go back to your house and erect a Niu'. Horopapera enquired of the Angel what a Niu was. The Angel replied, 'A post'. Horopapera enquired for what purpose. The Angel replied, 'Work for you for the acquirement of the languages of all races on earth'. Horopapera enquired of the Angel who was to impart to him the gift of languages. The Angel replied, 'The Spirit of God passing with the winds will teach you'. Horopapera then asked the Angel, 'What of the Winds?' The Angel replied, 'As the winds of heaven proceed to all quarters of the globe, so from the Niu proceeded all the different forms of religion upon earth'. Parris to Fox 1864, op.cit.

This explanation of the Newspole is consistent with Te Ua's use of transliterations for important images of the faith; cf Poti, 'Post', 'Tuku Akihana', and the transliterative songs. The first Newspole was made from the mast of the Lord Worsley, another was made from the mast of the Kate. Some Newspoles were seventy or eighty feet high. It seems clear that Te Ua's use of 'news' comes from its English meaning and associations. As Maoris loved wordplay, however, its original meaning of a divination stick may have enriched its connotations.

description of the ritual which was made by an Anglican clergyman is typical of many contemporary reports:

They marched several times around the pole, and then standing in a compact body commenced their karakia this done, they, all under Patara's direction, broke out into a most doleful tangi. This was explained to the local people by Patara who was shedding tears most copiously as being...for the people who are stripped naked, and for the islands reduced by half. The tangi was continued for some time and some of the local people were so worked upon that they could not restrain themselves from joining in it. The karakia consisted of a number of transliterated English words as might have been chalked on a blackboard by someone who was teaching Maori children English. The usual practice was that the leader would call out...fall in soldiers. Then, when the people had come together, he would say ...Attention, all would then begin to chant such words as these,...Mountains, big mountain; long mountain; attention; with much more of the same character. Then the names of the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity transliterated from the English; each followed by 'Mai merire' (Mei miserere). The whole would be concluded with 'Rire, rire, hau; the last syllable being brought out with great emphasis. Their frequent repetition of the last syllable is said to have been the origin of the name 'Hauhau'.³

It is clear from this report that Hauhau services aroused much emotion in the participants. Hauhaus sometimes gave as their reason for joining the faith, aroha ki te iwi, 'love for the people'. The emotion is the first hint that the ritual at the Newspole lacks the connotations of classical Maori religious practice, for that was conceived as a

3. Williams, W.L., East Coast (N.Z.) Historical Records, Gisborne, 1932., p41.

transaction and not an experience. Before the arrival of the Europeans the karakia was a formula by which the gods were forced into action on a client's behalf. This was accomplished by the skilful performance of the proper ritual act. The ritual worked by recreating in the present the archetypal event recorded in the myth. The operation of the ritual was mechanical, forcing the atua (god) into activity if the ritual act was perfect in performance.⁴

In the post contact period the word karakia was incorporated into the terminology of Christianity as a word describing formal church worship and the prayers that were made in it. Churches were known as whare karakia (houses of worship) and Christianity itself was known as to tatou karakia (our faith). In the Ua Gospel Notebook, Te Ua uses the word karakia only twice to describe his own sayings and those of the Angel Lord Michael. Te Ua's word is simply a statement about himself, while Michael's is a transliterative chant similar to those in the School section of the Service Book. This suggests that the word karakia is used to distinguish these sayings from inoi, the supplicatory prayers Te Ua makes to Jehovah.

The internal evidence of the Service Book that the transliterative chants should not be considered in a classical frame of reference is supported by a comparison of classical karakia and Hauhau prayers in performance. In classical times important karakia were performed in secret by one priest or, if they were particularly long, by two

4. Johansen, J. Prytz, Studies in Maori Rites and Myths, Copenhagen, 1958.

priests in order to avoid the aitua (ill omen) of a break in performance. Hauhau prayers were performed by both priests and people in a way modelled on the practices of liturgical Christian denominations. Classical karakia were performed by men; Hauhau prayers were chanted by men, women and children. Classical karakia were chanted extremely fast; Hauhau liturgical songs were sung slowly and no commentators suggest that the rest of the service was paced in the manner of karakia; the report that their recital sounded like a school class suggests a measured pace. Because classical karakia were powerful and dangerous they were more likely to be kept secret than other song types; the Hauhau, on the other hand, wrote their prayers down in books which were carried and copied around the island. Because any disturbance in the formula destroyed the efficacy of karakia, they were highly resistant to change. This is reflected in the archaic language that karakia contain. Translitative Hauhau prayers, on the other hand, are not only innovative by definition, but they show quite striking variations between, for example, Taranaki and the East Coast. The myth of the classical restrictions surrounding Hauhau prayers is kept alive by Clark and more surprisingly, by Mervyn McLean in his study of Maori ethnomusicology.⁵ A comparison between the 'Pai Marire' chants which are still sung in the Waikato and those of the Ua Gospel Notebook shows that little more than the refrain 'yours is the glory' remains the same

5. McLean, M., 'Maori Chant. A study in Ethnomusicology', Otago University, 1965. The Waikato Pai Marire chants are under restriction and cannot therefore be quoted.

as in the originals.

The transliterative songs are a group for which the Christian faith has no equivalent. They consist of lists of English words written within the constraints of the fifteen letter Maori alphabet. The lists are divided into a number of verses - often ten - of a regular length. The verses sometimes group the words according to the subject matter, and each verse begins with the command, Attention! Some of the songs also end each verse with the word korone, which may be a transliteration of 'colony'. Like korone, many of the words are impossible to translate with any confidence, because early transliterations commonly bore only a loose connection with the English word for which they were meant. The following song shows the standard characteristics of the genre:

Attention! Star the moon sun news king.
 Attention! Round stand at ease wind man Jew German.
 Attention! Men one w number one number two.
 Attention! - - - y k o p⁶

The songs are grouped together under the heading, Kura. In classical Maori, kura had the meaning of 'sacred learning'. After Christianity was introduced, kura acquired the meaning of school or lesson from the transliteration of the English word 'school', which happily reinforced its traditional usage. The Hauhau school opened with the announcement:

I am teaching you in the name of
 God the Good and Peaceful Creator

God the Good and Peaceful Son
 God the Good and Peaceful Spirit⁷

Both the announcement and the order show that the Hauhaus' school was an integral part of a service of worship of God. This suggests that the School section of the Ua Gospel Notebook is the foundation for the belief collected by John White which says 'the priests have power to teach the English language...'⁸ The English language was prized by Hauhau. Matene Rangitauira impressed the credulous by reading out loud from a newspaper in what he claimed was English,⁹ a priest at Kawhia conducted parts of his service in reasonable English; the angel told Te Ua that the Winds would teach the Hauhau the languages of the world and the prophet himself was observed to use English in a service he conducted. Since the 1840s Maoris had been dissatisfied with instruction in Maori at the mission schools,¹⁰ and it seems that it was the desire to speak the language of the Europeans that the Hauhau school attempted to satisfy. Te Ua had served as an assistant monitor. He was therefore familiar with the conduct of the schools which were part of the minstry of the churches. Mission schools hardly distinguished between the secular and sacred branches of knowledge, and their Maori pupils were taught to read from the Bible. It seems likely therefore that Te Ua's

7. p49.

8. White to Fox, 29 Apr 1864, AJHR E-8, p10, No. 15.

9. *ibid*.

10. Parr, C.J., 'Maori Literacy 1843-1867', JPS, Vol 72, (1963), pp214-219.

validation of learning by reference to the supernatural origin of all learning is a reflection of his own training. He continued with a style of rote learning interspersed with prayers and he encased the whole in a service of worship.

The examination of the transliterative songs in the Hauhau Service Book shows them to have an essential 'ordinariness' in the context of Maori schooling in the mid-nineteenth century. Their purpose was to teach the English language and the methods were copied from those of the Christian mission schools. This challenges the view that the explanation of the songs is psychological and is to be sought in the examination of the threat to Maori society posed by soldiers and surveyors. Clark says:

...the power of these men could be assumed by the followers of the prophet by using in ceremonies the words that were characteristic of them.¹¹

Perhaps some Hauhau saw the songs in this way. There is no reason however to suppose that surveyors went around saying 'big stone, long stone' etc, and no evidence to support the view that Te Ua was composing magic formulae.

The conclusion that the transliterative chants in the Ua Gospel Service Book do not subvert the biblicity of the Hauhau faith is supported by the evidence of the two other prayer types which are found in it: inoi and waiata, supplicatory prayers, and songs to the Trinity and Jehovah. The songs consist of the repetition of sacred names in

¹¹. Clark, P., Hauhau, Auckland, 1975. p97.

groups of three, punctuated by devotional phrases which were made as responses to the officiating priest. A version of the Service Book which was collected outside Taranaki calls the songs himene, 'hymns', and this suggests their devotional nature. The waiata are probably most closely defined as 'liturgical songs' and rest on the borderline between song and prayer. They have the formal quality of public prayer whereas the inoi, petitions, express a sense of personal relationship to the God they address. The petitions are set down for use in the mornings and evenings and, in a phrase which seems to betray Te Ua's missionary experience, 'at bedtime'. Like the long prayer in the Ua Gospel Notebook which paraphrases the 23rd psalm, the style of the one-line petitions in the Service Book is reminiscent of Old Testament supplication:

O Jehovah, let me not stray from all your paths.¹²

The inclusion of morning and evening versions of some of the songs in the Service Book suggests that its cycle of responses was the ordinary form of twice daily worship at the Newspole. Its orderliness gives no hint of the hysteria which has been associated with Hauhau ceremony. The orthodoxy of the apprehension of God which underpins the Service Book does not support the assumption that the faith substituted emotional experiences - 'howling round the flagstaff' for theology as the basis of its belief:

It is no religion; nor are there any mysteries with it. It is, in fact, but a jumble of unintelligible nonsense; their pretended knowledge of tongues is

12. p50

humbug. The whole matter consists in dancing, shouting and gesticulating, and their detestable orgies invariably wind up by their sinking on the ground in a state of total prostration.¹³

There are many reports of Hauhau services in which emotional behaviour was observed. The 'dancing, shouting and gesticulating' mentioned represent the flesh of performance on the bones of the Service Book. The service wore such an alien aspect that it seems inevitable that it should be misconstrued. It was the look of the faith as well as the acts of barbarism of some of its adherents which made the Hauhau rebellion different in the eyes of the Pakehas from other kinds of violent disaffection, and established its mad and fanatic character. The examination of the Service Book has shown that its content reflects an orthodoxy of procedure and relationship to God which, in the light of the Hauhaus' reputation, has much pathos. Descriptions of the worship which show the Service Book in action support the evidence which has been brought forward concerning the nature of the faith. While the Newspoles announced the Hauhaus' independence of the cultural forms of missionary worship, the performance of the Service does not necessarily fall outside the biblical boundaries which have been established for Te Ua's religious thought.

There is no detailed account of a service of worship in Taranaki, which was a war zone in 1864 and 1865. The following is the only surviving account of a service in which Te Ua took part:

13. DSC 6 Jun 1865, p5.

Within [the fence] were Te Ua and several other men standing round the pole and facing outwards. The visitors were taken into the enclosure, marched around the pole and requested to take a seat on a raised plank alongside. On their being seated, Te Ua turned to Mr Parris and gazed intently into his face...He then said...'Do you see? The spirit has descended upon him'. They assented, and he turned to the guard saying, 'Do your visitors honour', and in English, 'Present arms'.¹⁴

The account quoted below comes from a Pakeha observer at Kawhia in June 1865, and is a report on the homecoming of 200 Kingite soldiers who had escaped from Kawau Island and were subsequently allowed to go home. Because their purpose was to welcome the soldiers and introduce them to the new faith, these services probably had a scale which was untypical. Their usefulness as an indication of the nature of Hauhau worship lies in the fact that their context was a welcome and not war or political plotting. The services were led by a priest and not a politician. They were not distorted by the extreme tensions which for example in ceremonies recorded at Opotiki, made some Hauhau services a spur to fighting or murder.

The news of the prisoners' landing was flashed around the harbour by men on horseback, and as individual groups arrived in Kawhia they at once went through a kind of service without a priest in attendance:

The natives, as they arrived, ran up to a pole that was fixed there, and bowed themselves down, lifting

14. TH 1 Jul 1865, p2.

up their hands, and then, getting up, ran round it for a considerable time, muttering some doggerel which they stylise Hebrew.

The main service began when some hundreds had assembled:

...the high priests arrived, when they all assembled round a large flag-staff, which was fenced in about six feet square, and in the inside of which stood the priests and principal men, who talked in turn to the assembled crowd. The High priest then, while making gestures, spoke to the crowd, who imitated him, repeating the words he used. Whilst this was going on the men walked round the audience, and kept flashing their hands about, and bowing and muttering a strange language, which was incomprehensible to the newcomers, who were thus receiving their first initiation into the mysteries of Pai Marire. The High priest then got up and prayed, all the audience bowing their heads. At the conclusion of the prayer they all suddenly raised their hands and pointed to the flag on the pole, at the same time making a noise with their mouth like a puff of steam escaping from a safety valve, and then they commenced chanting a plaintive air, with their hands held above their heads.¹⁵

This service was followed by another in which the returned prisoners were welcomed to the practice of the faith, and this in turn was followed by a traditional tangi which lasted two hours. By this time, the report notes, the people were completely exhausted by an excess of ceremony and emotion. But that night a hundred of the faithful held another meeting in a large house, to which they were

15. DSC 16 Jun 1865, p5.

summoned by cow bell's ringing. In this service, ceremony was subordinate to experience:

A Maori commenced the business of the evening by speaking English words; but if it was that language his address was so incoherent that I could not divine his meaning. He then essayed to speak in Scotch, and although I am a Scotchman I fear if it was in that language that he spoke - that I must have forgotten my native tongue. He then pretended to discourse in German...At the conclusion of this feat another man got up and introduced a song, which was sung with much pathos, the singer standing with his hands elevated. The boys...then followed one another until they were all quite exhausted in singing. The prophet now occupied the attention of the tribe by informing them what news they had that day received from the wind (hau)...After the prophet had told all the news, which, on this occasion, was the success of their arms at Wanganui and the number of soldiers they had slain, one of them got up and asked in English, 'Any man want speak wind?' He was answered only by one, 'Me, Sir!'. The applicant then recited a combination of broken English, combined and interspersed with Maori and doggerel, and when he had finished, the priest explained the meaning of the unknown tongue...viz, the telling of coming events... The Priest thanked each at the termination of their speech, which I noticed always ended with the words 'rire hau'...

The next ceremony consisted of the priest asking all the tribe to speak aloud, in strange tongues, to the wind (hau) at one time... thereby showing the power of Atua Hau (the God Wind).¹⁷

The first service described above confirms elements

17. DSC 17 Jun 1865, p5.

of Hauhau ceremony which, in various combinations appear in the reports on almost all services; bowing to the Newspole, saluting it, walking round it, and making waving arm movements. The noise like a 'puff of steam' was doubtless the exclamation Hau! that ends the songs in the Service Book, while the 'strange languages' were probably the chants of the School section. The 'plaintive air' to which the Hauhaus sang with hands above their heads was not described by the reporter, but in the evening service a similar song was said to be sung to a well-known sacred air of the Christian tradition.

While the first service is an indication of the ceremonial forms the Hauhau had developed, the evening meeting is more fruitful for an examination of the beliefs that underlay them. There were four main elements in this service:

- (1) speaking in tongues by presiding officials
- (2) prophecy, or news, spoken by a prophet
- (3) tongues and their interpretation
- (4) massed speaking in tongues

All these elements of the service were supported by song and prayer; the progress of the service appeared to show a build up in emotional intensity - or faith - which culminated in the sessions of praise that ended the meeting. Emotional intensity was a feature of the Wesleyan services with which Te Ua was familiar, but there is no evidence that enthusiasm among the Wesleyans in New Zealand was associated with the speaking in tongues which was a feature of some

early nineteenth century English sects. Hauhauism appears to resemble contemporary pentecostalism both in the expression of emotion and in its belief that tongues could be existing languages rather than 'spiritual languages', although there is a scriptural basis for both in the New Testament. Most significantly, perhaps, the Hauhau service resembles pentecostalism in the apparent orderliness and control the participants had over the production of tongues. Pentecostal Christians, believing they have the gift of tongues from the Holy Spirit who dwells within them, can speak in tongues at will, but subject the experience of the power of the Holy Spirit to the discipline of church order. That the Hauhau did likewise cast doubts on readings of Hauhau spiritual experiences as a mass altered state of consciousness out of the control of the participants. While speaking in tongues is considered by some sociologists of religion to be an hysterical behaviour,¹⁸ when it is a disciplined element of an orderly church proceeding it is not, to the faithful, hysteria, but part of a different kind of rationality based on the experiences reported in the writings of the first Christians. Therefore while the behaviour of individuals might reflect their grasp of the faith or their own emotional makeup, the orderliness of the evening Hauhau service in the report above suggests that scenes of extreme

18. Wilson, B. Magic and the Millenium, St. Albans, 1973.

disorder noted at some outdoor services where people were sometimes said to 'lie around in a stupor for five days', were an inadvertant rather than an intended effect of worship. They may have been caused by a combination of the length of services, the effect of walking in circles, and the emotional intensity of an experiential faith.

Further proof for the suggestion that Hauhauism had much in common with pentecostalism in the ways converts worshipped their common God and experienced the power of the Holy Spirit, comes from Te Ua's writings. According to Te Ua it was the prerogative of office-holders in the church to receive the news from Te Hau, and the meetings at Kawhia bear out a distinction between the roles of priests and people. But all the people there, including the children, spoke in tongues, and this was the experience Te Ua had in mind when he prayed:

It is you O Jehovah, who will send the Winds upon
all your servants.¹⁹

In this prayer Te Ua used the transliteration wini for winds instead of the usual Maori word, hau, or his expression for the source of prophecy, Te Hau. This suggests that Te Ua made a distinction between prophecy and speaking in tongues which echoes that of the New Testament. Te Ua's use of the transliteration wini also suggests that he was expressing an idea he knew to be biblical. In the Bible the second chapter of Acts records the descent of the Holy Spirit on the disciples of the risen Christ in terms whose

19. p49

imagery and effect suggest that Te Ua had entered the venerable tradition of Christian enthusiasm which is distinguished by an experiential emphasis on the power of the Holy Spirit. St Paul writes:

And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting... And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.²⁰

Observers of the disciples thought them drunk or mad. In the same way, the commonest Maori description of the Hauhau in the 1860s was porangi, mad. In the letters to the new churches, charity and orderliness were emphasised as necessary boundaries to the demonstration of spiritual powers. Paul told the Corinthians to pray for the interpretation of tongues in order that the understanding rather than the spirit might profit from the gift. The meetings at Kawhia appear to fit this model of spiritual experience so closely that Hauhau worship, viewed in the light of the scriptural apprehension of God which is found in the Ua Gospel Notebook seems to show that the faith constitutes the 'heart experience' among the Maoris that the missionaries had prayed for and despaired of. The irony is that when it came, its scriptural literalism was so radical as to be unrecognisable to the Pakeha religious teachers.

The service which has been analysed above combines a

20. Ac 2: 2-4

New Testament experience of the spirit of God with cultural forms, such as the Newspole as the focus of worship, which contrasted with the missionaries' equation of reverence with a sober churchly demeanour. This is further evidence that Te Ua separated God from the cultural dressing the missionaries presented Him in. The service of worship must be considered the most significant of the ceremonies of the Hauhau faith, and speaking in tongues the object of that worship. But the service seems to have had an infinite flexibility, and was bent to many different occasions and moods. Hauhauism seems to have functioned as a kind of state religion among anti-government Maoris. Its symbols were used as a badge of identity. Even Pakehas such as Robert Parris and the soldier Thomas McDonnell found it expedient when entering a Hauhau settlement alone to circle the Newspole before they approached the people, for in this way they showed they came as friends. Elements of the Hauhau service seem to have received a rapid and widespread adoption in the central North Island in 1864 and 1865. They were added to the rituals of greeting as an expression of group identity in ceremonies in which a priestly function was superfluous. In December 1864, Edward Puckey, a government interpreter, had a meeting with Wiremu Tamihana and his people at Ohakura. Puckey described the meeting thus:

The Ngatihaua tribe...came towards us in double file in number about 100 men and women. As they approached the place where we were, the whole party instead of coming by the regular path, went round

twice, describing each time a completed circle of about twenty yards in diameter; at length, they came within 40 yards of our party, when simultaneously they raised their hands toward heaven, and made a very low bow, bending the knee; this was again repeated, then they ranged themselves in a semicircle, and the customary tangi performed.²¹

A very different kind of greeting was described by an anonymous Maori in Hawkes Bay:

We had not yet assembled in the house when the people began to recite their prayers. It was like the dancing I saw in the days of the old customs. A group would be just sitting around when a haka would be held - just like the Hauhau do now. They went revolving round the base of the post as if they were a horse at the grindstone. That's how they went circling round the base of their post. The people kept dancing. When they were finished they came to speak with us.²²

This account is interesting for its mention of haka, dance, which the missionaries had been at pains to suppress. Te Ua, on the other hand, approved 'quiet dances'. The description of the appearance of the people shows that Hauhauism supported dispositions as different as the conscious pride displayed by the Ngati Haua and the introversion of what seems to be a community of ascetics:

When we came to the village we came across them sitting down, and the people looked like children who

21. Puckey to Acting Native Sec., 14 Dec 1864, AJHR 1865 E-4, p7, No. 6.

22. Unsigned MS, 8 May 1865, McLean papers, MS papers 32 : 695 (ATL),

have stirred up the dust by pushing potatoes into it. You could see that their heads were white with dust. The women looked the same as the men. They had no garments, their clothes were rough cloaks, flax cloaks cut off short. Their knees showed below, with no covering. Their shoulders and arms lay bare. You could see their affliction with sores - they were spotted with them like a lizard's skin. They say they keep this appearance so that the land will be raised,²³ it will not be raised unless they keep their shoulders and arms uncovered.²⁴

Both the Ngati Haua and the Hawkes Bay meetings show that elements of the Hauhau service of worship combined easily with older cultural expressions such as the tangi and the haka. They combined equally easily with the rituals of the preparation for battle. Many Pakeha soldiers recorded comments such as:

...the Maoris were singing war and Pai Marire hymns and dancing the war dance, in a vain endeavour to get up courage to charge us.²⁵

In some Hauhau ceremonies the shape and spirit the prophet gave the faith was dominated by the context of war. Other priests bent the faith to purely magical performances:

...one of [the Seers] placed his cap on the largest house in a village and surrounded it with his ten

23. cf p41.

24. Unsigned MS, 8 May 1865, McLean papers, MS papers 32:695. (ATL).

25. Von Tempsky to Waddy, 14 May 1865 AJHR 1865 A-No.4, p63, encl. 12 to No. 154.

followers. At the command of the priest, the house fell down.²⁶

The Hauhau leaders Patara and Kereopa seem to have twisted the service to the purpose of awakening the desire for revenge. They presented the hope of deliverance in the powerful image of the preserved head of the enemy. This was in keeping with the expectations of both leaders that the Hauhau would be called on to fight. Patara stated that the reason for his mission was both to make converts to Hauhauism and to continue 'his war' against the government, soldiers and missionaries,²⁷ while Kereopa said that 'he had been sent by Te Ua or Horopapera, to canvass all the tribes, and when this was done the great fighting would begin, as prophets would be appointed'.²⁸

Both Patara and Kereopa conducted ceremonies of initiation into the faith which bear little resemblance to those approved by Te Ua:

At the gathering at Tauroa, the Urewera tribe, numbering 200, stood in two rows, for the purpose of being confirmed as believers in the God of Taranaki. The way in which this was done, the Pakeha head was used to scare each person. Terror, caused by the head, took possession of him, and he became insane, and sprang out of the row...

Kereopa then said to the Urewera, You are now

26. McGregor to Col. Treasurer, 11 Jul 1864, AJHR 1865 E-4, p37, No. 31.

27. DSC 6 Jun 1865, p5.

28. Te Kepa Te Urahi to Mr Smith, 20 Feb 1865 AJHR 1865 E-5 p4, Encl. 3 to No. 1.

possessed of the Deity, and now let the widows of the men who fell at Orakau approach and vent their (pourī) grief and anger on this head, and upon these living Pakehas. The head was then placed in the middle. Then the maddest of the widows approached close to the head, and to the prisoners, and spears and tomahawks were flourished in the faces of the prisoners. Those women who were courageous enough, then rushed forward to bite the preserved head, as it stood there, dried.²⁹

A few days after this incident Patara and Kereopa arrived at Opotiki. On 25 February Patara made Hauhau of the people:

Patara now went through the new form of religion, the whole of the natives forming in single line and passing under Patara's right arm, and so into the church where they again formed into double line, back to back, the forty Taranakis who had arrived with Patara continually running round them shouting, hallooing and going through many old fashioned forms of incantation, one of the principals examining each individually to see if they were affected by his influence...they were then singly taken hold of by the shoulders by three or four of the principals and well shaken until they spoke or gesticulated some of their mad peculiar tongue. They were then taken by the hand and swung round until so insensible they could not stand and then taken out on the green; where they remained on the ground in a state of stupidity for some days...³⁰

These ceremonies were the prelude to murder in Opotiki; similar ones preceded the killing of a pro-

29. Te Kepa Te Uruhi, op.cit.

30. Williams, W.L., op.cit. p44.

government chief in Taranaki two months earlier. They are a reminder that the Hauhau faith operated in a context of anti-government feeling and, in Taranaki, continuous fighting. Patara and Kereopa were leaders whose orientation seems to have been opposite to that of Te Ua. They bent the faith to the war, whereas Te Ua, waiting for deliverance, bent the war to the faith. But Patara and Kereopa's use of Hauhau ceremony is as much evidence as that of Wiremu Tamihana and the Hawkes Bay community that the faith was a kind of universal possession among Maoris opposed to the government. Its social role was to support an anti-government identity.

The dramatic images associated with the spread of Hauhauism on the East coast are more enlightening about the political context in which the faith operated than its nature. The Ua Gospel Service Book shows that the ceremony which is directly associated with Te Ua was centred on a relationship with God. The Ua Gospel records only the service of worship, but meetings in the notebook show that at least one other ceremony - baptism - was approved by Te Ua. In these meetings Te Ua appointed and sent out men to baptise converts into the faith. His instructions to the men could not show a greater contrast with the proselytising of Patara and Kereopa. They were not to proselytise and not to lead services, but to let the people approach them for baptism. In 1864 Te Ua wrote down the form of what was probably his baptismal service for the Maori King:

Aotea, house of Canaan, August 30, 1864 .

For Baptism.

I say: what is your name?

It is for him to pronounce it.

Then let the priest pronounce the word: I baptise you in the name of God the Creator of Goodness and Peace, God the Son of Goodness and Peace, and God the Holy Spirit of Goodness and Peace.

Verily, verily, Sound!

By Te Ua Haumene.³¹

A King Movement document which records Te Ua's baptism of the King says that the King declared to Te Ua:

'The Anglicans, the Wesleyans and the Catholics ...these three have been cast aside. I now have taken hold of the one faith, namely, yours! Te Ua fell down and worshipped his word. Then Te Ua said, 'My son, my son, you have become a Christian'.³²

In this way the founder of Hauhauism summed up the nature of his faith.

31. Te Ua MS, Atkinson papers, MS 1187 Folders A-E. (ATL).

32. Te Ngahuru to Nuimoa et al. 26 Aug 1864. McLean papers, MS papers 32:693 (ATL).

CHAPTER VIII: ORDER, MORALITY AND LAW

Te Ua worshipped the God of Goodness and Peace who had chosen him to proclaim his message. The national deliverance which Te Ua believed imminent was a temporal salvation, for the birthright to which Maoris were to be restored was the promised land. Te Ua and many Hauhau gave their address as 'Canaan', but until it was gained, Te Ua attempted to order the life of the community to fit it for future bliss. By moral exhortation, social law and the establishment of a hierarchy of authority within the faith, he tried to transmute the hope of deliverance into the practice of righteousness.

God was the authority for the discipline of the faith, but His will was channelled through Te Hau, the Wind, from which the faith took its name. In both Testaments of the Bible, the wind is a metaphor for the activity of God in His creation. He sent the wind to roll back the Red Sea for the Children of Israel to cross it; God's wind dispersed the flood in the days of Noah. When Te Ua reflected on this incident he used the term Hau-Atua, Wind-God to describe the divine agent. In the New Testament, God's healing spirit ruffled the waters of the pool where the crippled waited for deliverance. The sound of the wind heralded the descent of the Holy Spirit on the first Christians, who then began to speak in tongues and prophesy. Among the Hauhau, tongues were called 'speaking Wind'.¹ Te Ua told Parris that it was the 'Spirit of God passing with the winds' which would teach the Hauhau the languages of the world at the Newspole. Thus it seems that to Te Ua, Te Hau

1. DSC, 17 Jun 1865.

was the active spirit of God in the image of the wind. The Wind was the source of Te Ua's prophecies:

There are two pieces of news which were bestowed by your Wind:

October is a time of anger , but no killing.²

He rationalised his apparent acceptance of the Governor's peace terms in late 1865 in these words:

And, soon I will return to my grasslands, lest you say, We know that the works of your Wind of Love at Waitara are not right.³

When Te Ua gave out laws he gave them the authority of the wind; declaring that 'your Wind says' all the people could have more than one wife. The Wind also approved sexual relations among the unmarried.

Te Ua looked to the Wind as the source of guidance for the faith both in its external and internal relations, but he developed a hierarchy of office holders to mould and enforce its application. The hierarchy is set out in the October 1865 chapter of the Ua Gospel and consisted in descending order of:

2. p60

3. p59

Posts

Dukes

Seers⁴

Posts, or as they were sometimes called, The Unshakeable Posts,⁵ were the senior authority within the faith. They were distinguished from the laity by the restrictions placed on their freedom of action. Married Posts, unlike the rest of the Hauhau, were forbidden to have more than one wife.⁶ They were forbidden to carry loads on their backs, and they were obliged to fast on holy days and when there was trouble in the community.⁷ The Posts were the final authority for the acceptance of prophecy, but they were distanced from the people. Posts did

-
4. These three groups may be considered as the priesthood of the faith. In the hierarchy Te Ua listed in 1863, Monitors, Teachers of the Law and Judges were included after the Seers. They were exhorted to righteousness in the same way as other groups, but no further information about their role in the faith is available. As the roles of monitors, teachers and judges were already established in Maori communities, the work of the Hauhau versions was probably a continuation of existing operations. These categories of workers are not included in this examination because they had no known connection with the receipt of prophecy from the Wind. In late 1865 Te Ua twice appointed and instructed Baptists (pp 60-62), but like monitors etc. Baptists apparently had no connection with the Wind.
 5. It is almost impossible to discern the rank of known Hauhau leaders. Matene and Epanaia (1864) are called prophets in official reports. The 1865 emissaries are called 'Jews' which seems a generic name for the faithful. No Hauhau document throws light on the matter. The Notebook mentions 'the Duke and Tara' (Patara) together, which suggests that Patara and, by implication Kereopa were not Dukes. Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke reported in November 1864 that Wiremu Tamihana, the Ngati Haua chief, was a Post. (Wi Maihi Te Rangikaheke to Halse, 1 Nov 1864 AJHR 1864 E-8, p6, encl. 15 to No. 6). This would have been consistent with Tamihana's Christian faith, his character, and his brief interest in the faith. There is a local tradition among Ngati Raukawa that Tamihana was present and made prayers at the erection of the Newspole at Kuranui. Stokes, E., Pai Marire and the Niu at (cont).

not announce the results of their examinations of prophecy; their decisions were conveyed by the Dukes. In October 1865 the spiritual nature of the Post's work was reinforced by a law which decreed that 'the Posts will point to the day of His coming'.⁸ This law added that 'ministers and bishops, those who were named in the casting aside of the trial works (the missionaries' version of Christianity), they have now been forsaken'.⁹ The association of ideas as well as the discipline the Posts were subject to suggests that they replaced the rejected ministers and, perhaps more especially, bishops.

The second grade of officer in the faith, the Duke, also had a spiritual role. Dukes were the first to examine prophecy and their acceptance of the word was necessary before it was passed on to the Post. Like the Posts, the Dukes were to fast and not carry loads on their backs, but there was no prohibition on their marrying. Unlike the Posts however the Dukes' concern was also for secular matters:

The Duke: his path is the world. His concerns are governments, generals, judges and other worldly things. The Post is sent to the works above, the Duke to those below.¹⁰

In this role, the Dukes were subdivided into two

5. (cont). Kuranui, Hamilton, 1980. p44

6. p61

7. p62, p66. In earlier times, Maori men of status did not carry loads on their backs, which were tapu.

8. p65.

9. *ibid.*

10. *ibid.*

categories dealing with peace and action. The Duke of Peace was to strive to 'lay down peacefulness';¹¹ the maxim which was to guide him was, 'turn the other cheek'.¹² The Duke of Action was to 'oppose the Governor'.¹³ The opposition may have been pursued by political negotiation rather than war. The name for the Duke of Action in Maori is 'Tuku Akihana' which is a transliteration of the English words 'Duke' and 'Action'. Te Ua's use of transliteration shows his grasp of English and 'action' seems unlikely to have been a first choice if he in fact meant 'war'. On one occasion Te Ua stated that he left the question of fighting to Te Kura, who was probably the Ngati Ruanui chief of that name,¹⁴ and this is consistent with Te Ua's peacemaking efforts in 1865.

Both Posts and Dukes had a national role in the faith. They were supported by the tithes of the people and they were admonished:

Do not be concerned for your own village. No; be concerned for the whole land.¹⁵

Unlike these two grades of office holder, the Seers appear to have been the local priests of the Newspoles who conducted the services of worship. According to some reports, the Seers stood inside the fence which surrounded the Newspole and conducted the responses set out in the Service Book from there. Other reports say that the Seers ran around among the people, exciting the enthusiasm which led to mass

11. p62

12. *ibid.*

13. *ibid.*

14. p60

15. p63

worship in unknown tongues. At the meetings at Kawhia described in Chapter VII, the Seer kept a firm control over the evening service, restraining tongues and prophecies to their appointed time. He acted as the interpreter of tongues and gave out the news he had received from the Wind. This Seer's actions were consistent with Te Ua's teaching, but the services led by Patara and Kereopa show that some service leaders gave themselves an unlimited initiative. The problem of control in faiths which admit the authority of prophecy is not confined to the Hauhau. In Corinthians, St Paul devotes chapters to rules and advice for the containment and proper use of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, ending with the injunction:

Let all things be done decently and in order.¹⁶

In the same way, Te Ua devoted several admonitions to the conduct of Seers. They were told not to rise above the Dukes, and their prophecy was subject to investigation. They were told to look to the Post and to the prompting of the Spirit for their work. On the other hand Te Ua, as a recipient of prophecy himself, showed a caring for the Seers' difficulties which softened the discipline. He said:

My people, do not find fault with the Seers, whether the thing which is seen by him is right or wrong...If you take good care of him, your God will give good things to him.¹⁷

The Seers were the working heart of the faith. Te Ua said to them:

16. I Cn 14 : 40

17. p63

Agree oh tribe of Seers, to search out the ways of the God of Peace, so that you may help his forgetful, naked-standing people in the half-standing land. Turn back to the days of the ancients, so that man will live until his knees stick out at the back of his head, and only then will he die.¹⁸

This passage shows the kind of tranquil kingdom Te Ua longed for and which the officers of the faith were to aim at. He fostered its resolution by an emphasis on peaceable behaviour in his exhortations to all the faithful. 'Quarrelling is always wrong' he declared, whether between the black and the white skinned, or between relatives over matters concerning land. 'God will preserve his people from the quarrelling within the stronghold', he said, and the only thing to do was to pray to God to 'preserve his people and subdue the jealous heart of the quarrelsome'.

The subjection of the work and conduct of the officers of the faith to law shows that Te Ua valued order and saw the necessity of containing inspiration. But when he considered the worldly life of all the people, both lay and clerical, Te Ua made laws for only one aspect of their behaviour - sexual conduct. Disputes over women had been a significant cause of strife in the classical period of pre-European Maori life, but it was contained by the remedies which maintained the shape of society. In the post-contact period the social consensus was weakened and society lost its ability to apply the old rules efficaciously.

18. p41.

The Civil Commissioner at Napier reported in 1864 that:

The Maori idea of adultery differs so widely from ours, and he is so accustomed to perpetual litigation on that subject, that he judges law a good deal by the way it grapples with that crime'.¹⁹

The concern which prompted the litigation is confirmed by surviving Maori law codes. Two out of four of the articles of a brief Kingite code concern sexual conduct, while in two more developed codes, four out of eleven and fifteen out of thirty-three²⁰ articles respectively, address themselves to the subject. The concentration on sexual conduct in the laws contained in the Ua Gospel Notebook, therefore, reflects concerns which belonged to the wider Maori society.

Te Ua approved sexual freedom among the unmarried, but he warned that wanton fornication led to the destruction of mankind in the time of Noah.²¹ He dispensed with the need to solemnise marriage by formal ceremony, but he condemned adulterers: men who slept with married women were condemned, it seems, to death. He approved polygyny among his followers, but he denied it to the spiritual leaders of the church.

Te Ua's encouragement of polygyny amongst the lay members of the faith seems, on the surface, to be a return to the classical Maori past. In pre-European times, men of rank frequently had a principal wife and one or two secondary wives. Te Ua's teachings must be placed in the

19. Whitmore to Col.Sec., 27 Jan 1864 AJHR 1864 E-3, pl4, encl 1 to No. 17.

20. See Appendix 2.

21. p64

context of his belief that Maoris were descended from the Israelites and were to be restored to the promised land of Canaan. When Te Ua decreed that men should have two or three wives he said, 'Consider Abraham and Solomon', having in mind Solomon's 700 wives and 300 concubines.²² Te Ua said that the purpose of polygyny was to 'increase the people for Canaan'. He may have had in mind that Abraham received God's promise that his descendants would be as numberless as the sands of the sea shore.²³ Te Ua's words also reveal his concern with the Maoris' declining population.²⁴ When he wrote his laws on sexual conduct in late 1865, Taranaki had been intermittently at war since 1860. Some battles, such as the assault on Te Morere led by Hauhau leader Epanaia, had inflicted heavy losses on the Maoris. Te Ua's advocacy of polygyny may have represented an attempt to halt the accelerated decline in Maori numbers which was one result of the wars. He looked to the Bible, however, for his condemnation of adultery. Te Ua said:

Do not behave unlawfully towards married women.
The sword will fall upon you if children are born.
Though your house be full of your possessions,
they will never be taken; it is you yourself who
will be pursued.²⁵

This law seems a contraction of a passage in the Old

22. I Ki 11 : 3

23. Gn 22 : 17

24. Cook thought there were about 100,000 Maoris, but the number may have been up to twice as high. The 1858 census which missed many Maoris in inland places, gave 56,000 as the Maori population figure. Sinclair, K., Origins of the Maori Wars, Wellington, 1957. p15.

25. p64.

Testament book of Proverbs, where it says:

But whoso committeth adultery with a woman lacketh understanding: he that doeth it destroyeth his own soul.

A wound and dishonour shall he get; and his reporach shall not be wiped away.

For jealousy is the rage of a man: therefore he will not spare in the day of vengeance.

He will not regard any ransom; neither will he be rest content, though thou givest many gifts.²⁶

The aim of increasing the population may also have led to Te Ua's approval of pre-marital sex. Early sexual encounters would have led to early pregnancies and presumably early marriage, with a resultant boost to the population. Te Ua's teaching on this point was both practical and in accordance with classical Maori custom, but it cannot be reconciled with the thunderings against fornication in the Bible. Despite this it would be misleading to describe his views simply as a return to traditional ways. Te Ua did not base his teaching on the claim that the old ways were superior to the teaching of the missionaries. Instead he grounded it in his claim to have had God's message revealed to him by the Wind; and Te Ua's God, as we have seen, was the true God of the Judeo-Christian tradition. The fact that Te Ua was prepared to set aside scriptural teaching on this point does not undermine the claim that his religion had a scriptural basis. The Hauhau faith was no less scriptural than that of Roman Catholics who interpret the scriptures

26. Pr 6 : 32-35.

according to the divinely guided tradition of the Church, or that of Mormons who interpret them in the light of God's revelations to Joseph Smith, or that of other Christians who pick and choose from the scriptures in accordance with some acknowledged or unacknowledged tradition of interpretation.

Te Ua's setting aside of biblical teaching on the regulation of sexual conduct is parallel to his diminution of the role of Christ in the faith. But his autonomy extended to both sides of the cultural fence, as his rejection of many Maori practices shows. The central theme of Te Ua's guidance for Hauhau society was 'peaceable living' and he seems to have chosen those practices which would, under God, attain that end.

The examination of the framework of order, morality and law given to the Hauhau faith by Te Ua has shown that, contrary to the allegations of many observers, the faith was neither disorderly nor licentious. His laws represented an attempt to deal with the traditional problems of Maori society in matters of sex and marriage, and also with the more recent phenomenon of a declining population. According to its own lights, the faith aimed at a high order of morality, enforced by the authority of the office holders. Te Ua did not always succeed in constraining the behaviour of Maoris who called themselves Hauhau within the bounds of these principles, but the many garbled versions of his beliefs and laws which survive in letters and reports show that the authority which he claimed was widely accepted even if his

teachings were variously interpreted. The originality of the names which Te Ua gave to officers of the faith distanced the Hauhau hierarchy from that of the missionaries, but the functions of the priesthood did not fall outside those which the Bible validates. Morality, law and the framework of authority in the Hauhau faith represent the adaptation of biblical precept and practice to Maori circumstances.

The distinction of having established the first Maori church is usually conferred on Te Kooti and the Ringatu. Te Ua's attempt to both promote and regulate his teachings by the creation of a church hierarchy and discipline show that the distinction of conceiving a Maori church belongs to Te Ua.

CHAPTER IX: WAR AND PEACE

Missionaries had made European values accessible to Maoris. The necessity of being under their tutelage sat uneasily on a people who prized their personal independence above almost all else, but Maoris had endured dependence for the sake of the skills and knowledge they wanted. Missionaries had had a positive role within Maori communities as peacemakers: peace was unknown as an independent principle in classical Maori society; it was simply an effect of success. But after a decade of slaughter in the 1820s, Maoris desired security. They could not legitimise it in terms of a classical code of conduct, but third party intervention in the name of Christianity gave peace a status which did not rely on the validation of the past.¹ When the troops occupied Waitara, however, peace seemed a commodity whose price was injustice, and many Maoris felt deep anger towards those who asked them to pay. It was not simply a matter of Pakeha ministers acting as military chaplains: Maori ministers on both sides did likewise. Te Ua for example, went to Waitara. Nor was the anger, though expressed in terms of the loss of land, only about material loss. The anger seemed to be an expression of a deeper betrayal of trust: Maoris were often pictured in the pre-war period, by both Maoris and Pakehas, in the biblical image of children learning at their father's knee. Maoris had accepted

1. 'Peace was the major change that the Maoris associated with Christianity', Katherine Ross, 'The Missionary work of the Rev Richard Taylor at Wanganui', Victoria University of Wellington, 1965, p45a, quoted in Binney, J., 'Christianity and the Maoris to 1840: A comment', in NZJH Vol 3, 1969.

this identity because they believed that what the missionaries had to teach them was the truth. The war abused their trust and exposed to the Maoris their own simplicity. Maori anger at the missionaries' betrayal was expressed in wartime rumours and images concerning missionaries which seem to express the psychology of nightmare:

(The General) went in disguise as a minister to one of the pas...The bell was rung and he took his station in the pulpit, but counted each person as he entered. As the 'karakia' ...was proceeding, a Maori noticed some parts of the uniform underneath the surplice; the alarm was given, and the unfortunate General was despatched. There are several other stories of the same character flying about, which are all implicitly believed.²

A man from Rangiaohia (Waikato) has come here...He has [made] exaggerated statements, among others that 1500 soldiers were killed at Rangiaohia, and that Bishop Selwyn was now second in command, and rode about with a sword at his side.³

Here comes your clergy; they are the men that brought all the trouble upon the land. The Gospel is a scabbard for the sword. These men showed us this beautiful scabbard, all adorned with gold and jewels, and we admired it, and hung it up in our whare, and then came a man in a red coat, and took it down to look at it, and, all of a sudden, drew a sword out of it and cut off our heads.⁴

Renata reported the reflections of King Potatau on the Pakehas' betrayal of the principles which had been preached

2. Extract from private letter [n.d.] AJHR 1864, E-No.2, p21, Appendix A to No. 4.

3. *ibid.*

4. Kereti, WI 4 Jan 1866, p5.

to the Maoris:

Uenuku, the man-eater used to be my God, for the Pakeha's God was the true one, Jehovah, the preserver of man, the Creator of heaven and earth. When I accepted your God, I thought all wrongs were to be made the subject of investigation, great wrongs as well as little ones. When it came to this affair, I alone was left to worship his God, whilst he, the Governor, went off to pick up my castaway god, Uenuku the cannibal. And now the Governor, the supporter of Jehovah, has stepped forward and carried off Uenuku the cannibal to Taranaki as his god for the destruction of man.⁵

In Taranaki where relations between missionaries and Maoris had never been easy, many were certain that the missionaries were another aspect of the European's aggression against Maoris:

[Rewi said] that we desired to obtain dominion over all the world; but did we think this was the wish of God too? His opinion of missionaries was that they were nothing but deceit. Mr Riemenschneider came and baptised their children, and administered the sacraments to their elders, and wrote all their names in a book; and for what? that the Governor might know how few they were, and make war upon them.⁶

Bitterness against the English was linked to the Treaty of Waitangi. Some missionaries had urged the people to sign and had aided the circulation of the document among the tribes:

5. Ko te korero Me te Pukapuka a Renata Tamaki Hikurangi, Wellington, 1861, p13-14.

6. TH 11 Oct 1862.

It was said that the treaty (of Waitangi) was to protect the Maoris from invasion by foreigners; those evil people have not come to attack us! The attack on us came from you, the people who made that treaty!⁷

The fear of the English was confirmed for the Maoris by their international reputation as a military and colonising power. Te Ua and Patara were said to 'confirm and deepen rebellion in the minds of the people' in 1864 with this illustration of the character of England:

A number of sticks to represent all the crowned heads in the world were placed in the ground - against these Queen Victoria was declared to be constantly at strife, endeavouring to subdue and enslave their peoples...They also said that the people of India after proving the severity of her bondage had endeavoured to throw it off.⁸

Patara said the missionaries had taught him duplicity and that he would act on their own maxim, that anything was fair in war but that he wished to unite all the peoples of the world who had suffered from conquest or dispossession against his enemies, the Governor, the soldiers and the missionaries.

Scotch, Irish, Jews and Poles we look upon as brethren. All these are oppressed nations, and with them we seek to make common cause against our oppressors.⁹

Te Ua wrote a 'Notice to the German people' expressing his sense of grievance that Von Tempsky should fight with the

7. Ko te korero Me te Pukapuka, op.cit. p8.

8. White to Col.Sec. 17 Aug 1864 AJHR 1864, E-No.8, pl2, No. 15.

9. DSC 6 Jun 1865.

English against the Maoris:

Friends, salutations to you who have come from the king of love to the world, from Francis Joseph, King of Austria...what wrong have I done you that you should come to annoy me and my half-portion of the island? ...Truly, if you had seen that we were a people possessed of the knowledge to manufacture things to cause death to men, it would have been correct for you to have banded together against me. But I am a poor man - a man possessed of nothing - a naked man. Are you not ashamed?¹⁰ :

Resentment against the English, or fear of them, was felt by Kingites, neutrals and loyalists alike in the 1860s.¹¹ A special bitterness was poured out on the missionaries for the whole history of the loss of Maori autonomy since the people became Christian. The Ua Gospel Notebook clearly states Te Ua's position. He advised his people to throw off the 'yoke of the Pharisees and Scribes', of the 'trial religion', and the first sentence of the earliest chapter of the Ua Gospel proclaims:

This is a message for the ministers, for Whiteley, for Coates, for Brown, for all the ministers living in the land: let them go back over the sea in goodness and peace...¹²

Te Ua's injunction that the missionaries should leave, but leave in peace is typical of the Maoris' position during the war. They no longer valued the missionaries, but they still valued peace. Peace was however subject to conceptions

10. Te Ua to the German People. 23 Feb 1865 AJHR 1865, A-No. 4, p13, encl. 1 to No.37.

11. All foreigners were feared by Maoris in the 1860s. See 'He Ohaki' p7. An East Coast runanga cited fear of (cont),

of justice, and it was because Pakeha actions over Waitara and in the Waikato were seen as manifestly unjust that Maoris who were not warlike nevertheless took up arms.

In 1860 Tamihana agonised over the prospect of war. He said:

I wish to understand the case, but do not see it. They (the Europeans) have forsaken the right way, they have become deranged like the King of Bablyon who was turned into the forest. But let us not take up arms in an unrighteous cause...I do not forget some of the Kings of Judah who engaged in war, how they perished in their sin. Therefore I hesitate...¹³

Tamihana concluded that 'while the Pakeha holds his weapons, we hold ours',¹⁴ and that phrase summed up the position of many of the anti-government Maoris. Tamihana still said five years later that he would fight again, 'if there was another cause just to my understanding',¹⁵ but by 1865 the just understanding of Maori leaders was mocked by the Pakehas' power.

On the West Coast that year, the government made an effort to wipe out rebellion. General Cameron had orders to march from Wanganui to Taranaki, destroying the defences of the anti-government Maoris. The Taranaki tribes in 1865 were anxious for peace, and on the defensive. Cameron saw

11. (cont.), the French and Russians as a reason for staying under the protection of the Queen. Unsigned letter to the Taranaki tribes [n.d.] McLean papers. MS papers 32 : 714 (ATL).

12. p40.

13. Buddle, T., The Maori King Movement, Auckland, 1860, p37.

14. Buddle, op.cit. p46.

15. Thompson to Waikato [n.d.] AJHR 1864, Appendix to E-No.2 p19, sub-encl. 3, in No.1.

from their disposition that he was fighting a war of political manoeuvring rather than military necessity and he grew weary of the work. He wrote:

The fact is...the Natives had for many months remained on the defensive, and all the hostilities that had taken place in or near any of our settlements had been provoked by our invasion or occupation of their territory.¹⁶

Cameron was replaced by General Chute. He had orders to clear out the Taranaki rebels by crippling their support systems. Chute burnt crops and villages, occupied or not, and assailed the pa, in fulfillment of his orders to inflict maximum damage on the rebels.¹⁷ Between 30 December, 1865 and 9 February 1866, Chute destroyed seven pa and twenty villages.

Against the background of this cataclysm, Te Ua is said to have preached a 'simple message of love and peace'.¹⁸ Clark says:

In the face of the Pakeha challenge the followers of the 'Good and Peaceful' religion adopted a policy of pacifism. This is perhaps the clearest and most consistent element of Pai Marire belief.¹⁹

The idea of a pacifist faith complete, even, with a classic example of passive resistance²⁰ in the face of the aggression of the government is attractive to a generation of New Zealanders ready to trade colonial insecurity for a more

16. Cameron to the Secretary of State for War, 4 Sep 1865
AJHR 1866, A-No.1, p29, encl. in No.19.

17. Chute to Grey, 12 Feb 1866, AJHR 1866 A-No.1, p90. encl. 2 in No.33.

18. Clark, P. Hauhau, Auckland, 1975, p98.

19. *ibid.*

20. *ibid.* p55. Te Ua sent some women to 'pull on' the surveyors' chain. Logan to Asst. Military Secretary. 12 Nov 1864
G 16/4. 110

cosmopolitan Western guilt. But looked at from the point of view of besieged Maoris in the 1860s, the thought of such a mass introversion as a belief in the virtue of peace above all things seems to bear the character of racial genocide rather than the moral qualities which political pacifism tries to turn into a weapon.

Pacifism was clearly not the nature of the Hauhau faith as far as many of Te Ua's followers were concerned. The Hauhau leader Epanaia led the fighting at Ahuahu and Te Morere in April 1864. Epanaia was killed at Te Morere, and Matene Rangitauira, the other leading Hauhau prophet in early 1864, was killed the following month at the battle of Moutoa Island. The Chruch Missionary Society catechist, James Booth and his family barely escaped Pipiriki with their lives, and it was these incidents which began to establish in the minds of Pakeha officials the warlike character of the new faith. In January 1865, Hauhau killed the loyalist chief Rio , who was in the pay of the government. In the excitement which surrounded his death the Hauhau emissaries Patara, Kereopa, Horomona and others set off to the central and eastern parts of the North Island to spread the faith, and, according to Patara, gain recruits for the Taranakis' opposition to the government. Patara and Kereopa went round the southern end of Lake Taupo, where, according to a member of the party, Patara would have killed the missionary Thomas Grace had he been at his station.²¹ Father Grange, whom the party met a

21. Deposition of Eruera Tutawhia taken at Napier, 9 May 1865. Encl. to McLean to Co. Se., 13 May 1865, Internal Affairs 1 (Inwards Letterbooks), 226, 65/339.

little later, thought he was lucky not to have been killed: Eruera said that Patara prevented Kereopa from doing it. Before the event, rumour abounded that Carl Volkner was to be killed if he was found in Opotiki,²² and the hapless missionary was hung on March 2. James Fulloon, a government agent was killed at Whakatane, and threats to the life of the Bishop of Waiapu caused him to abandon his station in November 1865. Back in Taranaki, a Maori policeman was killed and Charles Broughton the interpreter, died when he took the government peace terms to a Hauhau pa. Kereopa meanwhile, was engaged in the Bay of Plenty fighting, with his 12 disciples against the Arawa.

There is ample evidence that Te Ua disapproved of these events. He commented on Rio's death that all he had told the Hauhau was to 'send the Pakehas back quietly to Wanganui'.²³ He instructed Patara and Kereopa not to interfere with the Pakehas. Other Hauhau in the party jibbed at the acts of war. One Taranaki said: 'I did not come here to teach the murdering of clergymen, I came to teach God'. It was in 'teaching God' that the acts of the emissaries can be reconciled to the views of the prophet whom they claimed as their leader. Te Ua taught that the Maoris were to be delivered, according to the Bible, by angels fighting either alone or at the head of the hosts of the righteous. 'Do not anticipate the Days of Deliverance' Te Ua chided Kereopa in late 1865, but it seems clear that

22. Extract from a letter from Miss Wallace, 21 Feb 1865, AJHR 1865, E-No.5 Encl. 1 to No. 1. See also Williams, W. Leonard, East Coast (N.Z.) Historical Records, Gisborne, 1932, p44.

23. Deposition of Eruera Tutawhia, op.cit.

many did exactly that, and that the message of Deliverance often acted as a justification for an already flourishing disposition for war.

Clark's view that Hauhauism was a pacifist faith is, however, also wrong with respect to Te Ua himself. It is based partly on a misapplication of the words Pai Marire. Clark considers Pai Marire, goodness and peace, to be both the name and the character of the faith. In the Ua Gospel Notebook, Te Ua applied that name only to God as an explication of his nature, and if the phrase is restored to God, it then becomes no more significant that some Hauhau failed to reflect the nature of God than it does for members of other faiths based on belief in Him. Men like Patara and Kereopa traded instead on the urgency of the message of national deliverance which God promised Te Ua. They flagrantly abused Te Ua's teaching of seeking the signs which would herald divine intervention, but their actions and indeed, almost the entire public life of the faith, do not contravene the hope Te Ua gave his followers that the Maoris would be delivered from the oppression of the Pakehas.

Clark's view of Hauhauism as a pacifist faith was also partly based on mistranslations of the Ua Gospel Notebook and other writings by Te Ua. Clark quotes the King Movement collection of Hauhau writings to the effect that the message Te Ua received from Gabriel was:

...that I should reject warlike practices. That is to reject the heavy yoke of the flints of the rifles, that you might be glorified by God, that

you might stand here on the roof of the clouds.²⁴

The passage properly reads:

The heavy yoke has now been rejected - that is the message of the rejection. I have come back to my birthright. The works of enticement have been rejected, even the heavy yoke of the Pharisees and Scribes. May you be glorified, O God, who stands on the roof of the world!²⁵

The Penfold translation of the Grey Corrections makes Te Ua's speeches and prayers at once more pious and less coherent than the Maori text can support. Many passages accentuate Te Ua's pacifism. In the meeting at Ketemarae Te Ua is said to sing a song beginning 'It was not I but the Queen who sang the songs of peace which brought hand shaking (peace).²⁶ This translation runs counter to Te Ua's other recorded statements about the English and it rests on a confusion between the word raru, 'trouble', in the original text, and ruru, 'handshaking'. The song should read 'It was not I but the Queen who flung hither the troubled waters which perplexed the multitude'.²⁷ In the Penfold text Te Ua exhorts the faithful: 'People of little sense and reason, concede peacefully and seek that which is of the God of Peace'.²⁸ The Maori text shows that this should read:

24. Clark, op.cit., p10.

25. [KINGITANGA MS] 'He ohaki no te Kingitanga o Potatau Te Wherowhero, o Tawhiao, 1860-70'. (AU) The Maori text of the He ohaki passage reads: Kua kapea hoki te ioka taimaha - koia te kupu o te kapenga. Kua hoki ahau ki toku matamuatanga. Kua kapea e au nga mea whakawai, ara te ioka taimaha a nga Parihi, a nga Haruki. Kia whakakororiatia koe, e te Atua, e tu nei koe i te tuanui o te ao.

26. Clark, op.cit. p119.

27. p59.

28. Clark, op.cit., p124.

'Agree, oh tribe of Seers, to search out the ways of the God of Peace'.²⁹ In his argument for Te Ua's presumed pacifism Clark quotes the Gospel: 'My deepest wish is that the way of love be the one to salvation',³⁰ and 'rather turn to that which concerns you, to the key of the land which is peace'.³¹ These passages should read respectively: 'My desire is that the works of light be pursued', and 'turn to what you must do, namely the raising of the land', by which was meant the accomplishing of Maori deliverance.³²

Clark's view ignores reports of Te Ua's activities. He was reported by John White to have been in the attacking party at Ahuahu in April 1864, when the party of soldiers from the much disliked 57th Regiment were killed in a carefully planned ambush.³³ The prophet offered religious leadership to Maori soldiers. He was reported to be at the fighting at Nukumaru in January 1865,³⁴ and he was in the Weraroa pa above Perekama when it was first assaulted by General Cameron.³⁵ In 1864 he organised the supply line to the rebels by sending in a man, thought to be his son, to New Plymouth in the guise of a 'friendly' to act as their agent.³⁶ Te Ua advocated war if the Pakehas crossed the boundaries he had set up. In 1864 he sent word that he would fight at Waitotara if the Pakehas persisted with the road,³⁷

29. p41.

30. Clark, op.cit., p101.

31. ibid.

32. p44, p43.

33. Warre diaries 30 Apr 1864.

34. TH 18 Feb 1865, p5.

35. Cowan, J., The New Zealand Wars., Wellington, 1923, Vol.2 p48.

(cont.),

and in 1865, he made a boundary at the Waingongoro River which, in the cryptic style of such Maori pronouncements he said would be fought for if crossed by the Pakehas.

These policies show that Te Ua acted in ways which were typical of Kingite Taranaki leaders. Members of the Taranaki tribe Ngati Ruanui had resisted land sales in their district since the late 1840s, and their efforts to block Pakeha intrusion was given more coherent expression in King Movement policies in the later 1850s. Two issues of concern to the Kingites were the carriage of mails through their territories and the influence of missionaries. Both were seen as first steps towards the loss of the land. These two issues were touched on in the earliest surviving letters by Te Ua, which were written when he was the leader of a Kingite runanga. In reply to a letter condemning his stand regarding missionaries Te Ua wrote:

Friends, I sent out two instructions, the mail: it is fitting that we carry it. I am not willing that the Pakehas should, but it is fitting that we should. The ministers: they were the subject of the second of my instructions which were sent out in that letter. Concerning the Pakehas: I am not willing for Pakehas to use this road - no. But we should find out the Governor's position. If his intentions regarding that place are good, then the Pakehas will be allowed to travel through.³⁸

36. White to Col.Sec., 3 Aug 1864, Justice Dept., Wanganui, 'Resident Magistrate's Court 5' (JC-WG5), pl29.

37. Logan to Supt., 26 Jul 1864, WP 64/743.

38. Te Ua to Hapimana Tireo, 28 Mar 1862. Atkinson papers, MS papers 1187 : 15c.

This letter shows that in the period before his vision Te Ua's politics were typically Kingite. He was suspicious of the Governor's intentions, but, as his letter to Hapimana makes clear, he was willing to respond to fair dealing. As the prophet of the Hauhau, Te Ua's politics remained consistent with his earlier position. While he was willing to fight if the boundaries he made were crossed, at least after May 1864 Te Ua opposed carrying the attack to the Pakehas. He restrained hot-heads who wished to begin fighting. The report which states that Te Ua would fight at Waitotara makes it clear that his attitude to war was defensive.³⁹ In his dealings with Pakeha officials Te Ua's desire for peace was marked. He wrote to White praying that 'our tribes may in our agreement be saved from the God of War',⁴⁰ and he returned one of the heads taken at Ahuahu in the face of considerable opposition from other Hauhau.⁴¹ He made a follower pay as much as he could of a debt to a pakeha, and he sent back a child that had been abducted from its European relatives. He offered a piece of land to the Pakehas, 'for the sins of Taranaki'.⁴² When the Waikato visited him in August, it was discovered that the motive of some of the six-hundred strong party was to make Taranaki the battlefield for the whole island. Te Ua told them their fate would be the same as that of the Maoris who fought at Te Morere,

39. Logan, op.cit.

40. Te Ua to White, 30 May 1864, JC-WG5, p63.

41. Broughton to Logan, 28 Jun 1864 AJHR 1864, E-No.8, p2, encl. to No.1.

42. White to Col. Sec., 9 Jun 1864 AJHR 1864, E-No.8, ppl0-11, No.15.

which was a defeat for Maori arms;⁴³ Te Ua condemned that battle, and the next one, at Moutoa. He kept the Waikato tribes within strict geographical boundaries during their visit, for fear of producing a military demonstration.⁴⁴ His message to the visitors was that they should 'close the doors of the sword' and, against Rewi's opposition, he was able to gain that agreement. The proposition was debated at the end of the year at an inter-tribal meeting at Hangatiki, and Te Ua was reported to have attended.⁴⁵ It seems clear that his message there was one of peace, for in the new year Wiremu Tamihana couched his decision not to submit in the words that 'he had left Te Ua, to carry out his own designs'.⁴⁶ Peace negotiations were carried on through most of 1865. In June, Te Ua wrote a letter to the disaffected Maoris saying 'My beloved friends...Maori and Pakeha, Goodness and Peace',⁴⁷ and in June or July he made his first submission to the Government.

Parris the negotiator, remarked on the anxiety Te Ua showed for peace. The Ua Gospel Notebook in 1865 also reflects Te Ua's concern. He forbade looting⁴⁸ and argued that although it was through the stubbornness of the people that the Governor had made his proclamation of peace⁴⁹

43. Warre Confidential report No. 23, 23 Sep 1864.

44. White to Featherston, 12 Sep 1864, JC-WG5, p201.

45. NZer 6 Jan 1865.

46. Wiremu Patene et al. to Clark, 14 Apr 1865, AJHR 1865, E-No.4, p27, No.25.

47. WI 24 Jun 1865, p5.

48. p58.

49. p59.

the only thing left to do was to seek agreement with the authorities. General Warre noted in December that Te Ua desired an end to the strife which he was 'clever enough to see (was) entirely against the Rebels'.⁵⁰ Thereafter Te Ua worked hard to persuade the Taranaki tribes to end their resistance.

In 1864 Taranaki did not consider themselves beaten and therefore Te Ua's desire for peace was subject to his Kingite conceptions of justice and law. The Taranaki had stated in 1862 that they would fight if the Pakehas did,⁵¹ and the reoccupation of the Tataraimaka block in 1863 fulfilled that condition.

The course of his actions through his public years of 1864-1865 shows that Te Ua's attitude to war was consistent with both Kingite politics and with the Old Testament bias to his religion. The Israelites had fought their way to Canaan with god's help, and their cause was just. In the same way the Kingites fought for the principles of autonomy and justice with which their identity was clothed. After 1863 the military strength of the Pakehas was backed by land laws which dispossessed Maoris at the stroke of a pen. Most Maoris therefore desired peace because their circumstances could not be improved by war. At the same time, those circumstances contained injustices in the denial by the Pakehas of the principle of just land purchase, and

50. Warre diaries, 20 Dec 1865. (ATL).

51. TH 18 Oct 1862, p2.

in the threat of advancing roads. Because the Pakehas chose to fight, the choice available to anti-government Maoris was either to submit to injustice, and lose their land, or fight, and have the land confiscated for 'rebellion'. In this impossible situation Te Ua's political position was cautious and reasoned. He pursued a policy of defensive warfare behind boundaries which guarded the integrity of tribal land. He asserted an identity based on the Maoris' right to own the land and oversee their own affairs. Te Ua's friend and fellow worker in the faith, the Ngati Ruanui chief Tito Te Hanataua, commenting on the peace proposals put to Te Ua in 1865, observed that peace was 'but a small thing' compared to Maori and Pakeha separation;⁵² this statement reflects the political dimension of Te Ua's rejection of the 'yoke' of the Pakehas. But the Lord tarried even while the plague of government troops stripped the land. When it was clear to Te Ua that the Maoris, unaided, could not win the continuing war, he submitted and thereafter tried to persuade the people that the Governor's peace was better than no peace.

52. Tito Hanataua to Parris, [n.d. recd 23 Oct 1865], subenclosure 1 to Chute to Grey, 13 Nov 1865, G 16/7, 118.

CHAPTER X: CONCLUSION

Te Ua's faith has often been assumed to have started in madness, continued in barbarity, and ended only when Maoris gave up fighting as an expression of opposition to the power of the Pakeha. The madness charge was first made by Robert Parris, who said Te Ua had 'gone wrong in his mind' in the stress of the argument over the Lord Worsley incident.¹ Sir George Grey called Te Ua a 'harmless dreamer' and W.L. Williams, the East Coast missionary said:

Te Ua was an inoffensive old man whose mental faculties were more or less deranged. Whatever value he himself may have attached to his rambling utterances, if he attached any value to them at all...²

The press was less kind. The following description of the prophet was published in 1866 and has become entrenched in the historiography:

There is little or nothing of the old Maori type about him; more like a Wahoo (Yahoo) in countenance, he shows little sign of intellect or imagination; rather a low, sensual, cunning native.³

-
1. Parris to Col.Sec. 8 Dec 1864 AJHR 1865 E-No.4, p5,No.4.
 2. Williams, W.L., East Coast Historical Records, Gisborne, 1932, p44.
 3. WI 22 Mar 1866, p6. Another description of Te Ua in 1866 when he was about 46 years old reads: 'Te Ua...does not look like a man whose mind is in any way affected. He is of middle height, stout, with heavy features, and untattooed. Although he squints a little, he has by no means a disagreeable look'. DSC 8 Apr 1866.

The examination of Te Ua's writings in this study has shown that his faith had orderliness and sobriety, and that he had a standing among his people which lunacy, harmless or malevolent, was unlikely to produce. The Ua Gospel Notebook shows that Te Ua set himself firmly in the prophetic tradition of the Bible, and this offers an explanation of the extravagance of his behaviour at the time of his vision. Old Testament prophets danced. The New Testament prophet, John the Baptist, was a wild man who lived in the wilderness on locusts and honey and was clothed in camel skin. In the Bible the connection between inspiration and madness is expressed in the Aramaic term for prophet, nabi, which means both 'To be beside oneself' and 'to call or proclaim'.⁴ In the same way, Te Ua called his seers pōrewarewa, which means 'to be giddy, senseless or mad'. It seems that the madness attributed to Te Ua by people who saw him in 1862 was the divine madness of an experience of God.

In the Bible the true prophet was distinguished from the confraternities of ecstasies who wandered the desert by his perception of the limitation of his role: he was only the mouthpiece of God, and claimed no authority except God's. There is no evidence that Te Ua claimed any authority on his own account in spiritual matters. He said that he proclaimed the love of God to His suffering people, and reflected near the end of his life that the faith had been 'added to and made mischievous'.⁵ In 1864 Te Ua

4. Jerusalem Bible, Introduction to the Prophets, pp1115 - 1118.

5. DSC 16 Mar 1865, pp4-5

had seen his calling as the mouthpiece of God in this image:

Light is shining in the darkness and darkness cannot overcome light. There was a man sent by God, and his name was sent to tell of that light, and he was the true light which was taught by God.⁶

The religion which Te Ua founded was not a work of madness except in the prophetic sense. It was misunderstood in part because its ritual forms gave it an alien aspect. The Newspoles and the services incorporating movement and tongues as a mode of worship gave the faith a singular appearance which many observers construed as anti-Christian. The historiography has been impressed by the doctrinal and moral divergences from missionary teachings: the lack of mention of the saving role of Christ, the advocacy of polygyny amongst most ranks of the faithful, and the tolerance of sexual relationships amongst the unmarried. But the conclusion that these departures from missionary orthodoxy signified a reversion to the savagery of the past, or the more recent view that Te Ua drew the Pakeha's God into the religious thought handed down from pre-European times is incorrect. Te Ua did not have a 'Maori' understanding of God but a biblical one. He did have, however, a Maori understanding of society but, unlike earlier prophets, he drew God into a Maori context without destroying the biblical picture of the nature of God and man's relationship to Him. Te Ua never justified departures from

6. White to Col. Sec. 30 May 1864, Justice Dept., Wanganui, 'Resident Magistrate's Court 4' (JC-WG4) p63.

missionary teaching by reference to classical Maori values; he argued for his faith on scriptural grounds or on the grounds that God had communicated new teaching through the Wind. In this way he placed himself in the tradition of the countless Christian and Jewish reformers who had altered the doctrines of the faith over the previous nineteen hundred years. Like many of them, he proposed reforms which made the Judeo-Christian tradition relevant to the needs of his people. For Maoris eager for temporal deliverance from Pakeha domination, the promise that God would save them from their oppressors in this world was more attractive than the missionaries' promise that faith in Christ guaranteed salvation in the next. Christ was de-emphasised and the apocalypses of both Testaments were given prominence. Similarly, either the need to increase the Maori population or the need to draw entrenched existing practices into a new orderliness seems to have motivated the adoption of the polygyny which had been practised by some of God's chosen people in the Old Testament. Te Ua joined the ranks of Jewish and Christian teachers who have ignored biblical injunctions which have not suited the times. To the countless casualties inflicted on the list of biblical prohibitions by earlier generations of reformers he added the prohibition of pre-marital sex. He was not trying to effect an amalgamation of Christian and classical Maori morality. Like many others in the Judeo-Christian tradition he was simply trying to adapt that tradition to the needs of the times.

Te Ua's Hauhau faith was not born in the 'despair of defeat', as was the later religion of King Tawhiao, monarch of a people who had lost their birthright. Neither did it consist of the spiritualisation of loss. Te Ua arose as a prophet in the period of truce after the Waitara fighting, which his Taranaki followers considered a victory for the Maori side. Rumour abounded in Taranaki that soon the Pakehas would be 'all swimming away in the sea' carrying with them their missionaries who were 'nothing but deceit',⁷ leaving the country to the Maori King. That feeling was reported among Maoris throughout the life of the faith. 'The Pakehas are vanquished' it was proclaimed on the East Coast in 1865, 'the land is left clear for the Maoris alone'.⁸ 'Te Ua has taken New Zealand' said another convert.⁹ Te Ua tried to strengthen, shape and discipline the belief in Maori autonomy by giving it the authority of God and the clothing of scriptural promises. In doing so he liberated the Judeo-Christian tradition from the hegemony of the missionaries and appropriated it for Maori purposes. Given the deep roots which that tradition had struck in Maori society, Te Ua's role in bending it to Maori purposes was almost necessary if many Maoris were to oppose the Pakeha government which most missionaries supported.

Because Te Ua gave anti-government Maoris the hope of a positive future, he was looked to as a leader even by those who most greatly abused his teachings: Patara announced that he was taking the heads of all soldiers and

7. TH 11 Oct 1862.

8. Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri, 20 Aug 1865.

9. Paora to Te Kupa 28 Jun 1865 McLean coll. MS papers 32:693

missionaries back to Te Ua; Kereopa used Te Ua's name as his authority; Horomona, who was instrumental in the death of James Fulloon, said he was taking the dead man's watch back to the prophet. East Coast Maoris went to Taranaki 'according to our law'.¹⁰ to be instructed in the faith in late 1865, while Taranaki soldiers told Pakehas to go and see the 'great chief' Te Ua if they wanted to discuss peace. To summarise Te Ua's public career as 'four years of apparently weakening leadership' and 'ineffective' control is to misjudge the kind of leadership Te Ua had.¹¹ He was an image maker, a source of ideas, a symbol. In this sense Te Ua's leadership never weakened at all - the faith passed into other hands, those of Te Whiti, Tohu and Taikomako, but the idea of separation from the Pakehas and the will to maintain it remained strong. Te Ua was not rejected by the new activists in the faith in late 1865. He was revered as 'our father' and his day of suffering in 1862 was made into a 'most sacred' day of remembrance. His status as a father of the people was compared with that of Potatau.¹²

Te Ua's vision of the promised land and the peaceable kingdom was doomed to failure, but because his teachings met the needs of many Maoris and because he created an organisational structure, the faith which he founded had great influence. The imputation of 'great influence' is comparative, indicating only that its appeal and impact vastly exceeded that of other autonomous Maori faiths before

10. Paerau Te Rangī to Tareha 26 May 1865, McLean papers, MS papers 32:695.

11. Clark, P., Hauhau, Auckland, 1975. p112.

12. p65.

the Hauhau. About one fifth of the Maori people may have professed the faith in some form at its peak,¹³ and although the figure is astonishingly high given the fragmented nature of Maori society, it indicates that the religion still had only minority appeal. It also masks the diversity of beliefs which co-existed and sometimes warred beneath the banners of the Hauhau. Like other Maori leaders of the 1860s and earlier, Te Ua was unable to control many of his followers, and those who claimed the support of his name often denied his most cherished doctrines. Yet it was not simply, or even mainly, the disunity of Maori society which doomed Te Ua's vision. The principal obstacle was the Pakehas' power. No Maori, not even a Tamihana or a Te Ua, had it in his power to devise a grand solution capable of changing the course of New Zealand's history in the 1860s. The power was not theirs, but the Pakehas'. By separating God from the power of the Pakehas, Te Ua gave many Maoris the will to resist fighting when there was a chance of peace, and the strength to fight when the price of peace was disinheritance.

By mid 1865 Te Ua had realised the inevitability of submission, and argued for its acceptance by the people. Submission, however, carried little weight with General Chute's troops. Te Ua, Arama Karaka and others were rounded up at the beginning of 1866 with 'a very unnecessary display of force in the shape of bayonets etc'.¹⁴ They were herded into a tent and left there, where they were 'very

13: Clark, op.cit. p5.

14. DSC 19 Mar 1866.

much frightened, and recommended each other to meet death bravely'. Instead of death they were required to make another submission, agreeing to renounce their Kingism and the Hauhau faith and to accept the authority of the Queen, the judges and other men appointed as rulers.¹⁵

Te Ua was exhibited around the island, in places where Hauhauism was influential. He had to be protected from the Wanganui loyalists, and on the East Coast could not go ashore for fear of the wrath of Maoris whose relatives had died at the hands of the Hauhau. He was treated well by Sir George Grey, and allowed to return to Taranaki. There he pleaded earnestly for peace. He wrote to Waikato, Ruanui, Kahungunu and Raukawa telling them to submit, provoking the bitter reply:

Your letter calling upon the tribe to assemble together and to be of one accord has been received. This is the reply to your letter: Father where is the tribe?...Who are they whom you invite to assemble together today? Who shall collect the broken fragments of the tribe - the scattered remnants of the dead in the great forest of Tane? Rather let the absent one take thought respecting the suffering of the persecuted tribe.¹⁶

Among others, Te Ua's prestige remained high. The kindly treatment meted out to the prophet by Grey was interpreted as a sign of Te Ua's spiritual power, and it was rumoured that he could 'make the Governor walk barefoot

15.2 Jan 1866, Grey Maori Letters GNZ MS : 259.

16. Tauke Hohi to Te Ua, 4 Feb 1866, Grey Maori Letters GNZ MS : 258.

after him through the country'.¹⁷ Some Maoris were, perhaps, ambivalent. When Ropata Ngarongomate, for example, wrote to Te Ua about their scattered relatives, he signed his letter, 'from your younger brother, loving or hating'.¹⁸ Te Ua himself was firmly committed to helping Robert Parris undo the damage inflicted by General Chute's West Coast campaign. His last recorded public letter was written in July. Addressed to Tohu, Te Whiti and Aperahama, it urged the new religious leaders to 'put an end to resistance to the government, and to the Hauhau faith, so that the Maori and Pakeha people may be one in this land'.¹⁹ This letter renounces the principles Te Ua stood for as a Kingite leader and a prophet. How he would have lived by his new ones is a matter of speculation, for Te Ua's time had run out. He was terminally ill, possibly with tuberculosis, and died in October.

17. DSC 24 Mar 1866.

18. Ropata Ngarongomate Te Rangikapuho to Te Ua, GNZ MS : 316.

19. Te Ua to Parris, 14 Jun 1866 AJHR A-No.8, p10; No. 11.

APPENDIX 1

THE NAME OF THE FAITH

Documents of the 1860s show that Maori unbelievers and the Pakehas called the followers of Te Ua the 'Pai Marires' and the 'Hauhaus' interchangeably. In the same way, the movement's beliefs were known both as 'Pai Marireism' and 'Hauhauism'. In the second half of the decade the word Hauhau had a general currency as another name for 'rebel'. It was used until the end of the campaigns against Titokowaru and Te Kooti to mean any Maori in arms against the authority of the Queen. In the historiography of the faith both names are used. Cowan said the faith was called 'the Pai-Marire or Hauhau religion'.¹ Babbage offered 'Hauhauism or the religion of Pai Marire'.² Winks said 'Correctly speaking, Te Ua's church should be referred to as the Pai Marire Church; his followers as Hauhaus, and their beliefs as 'Hauhauism'.³ Winks offered no evidence for his pronouncement. Clark said the name Hauhau was coined by the settlers, who frequently likened the sound of the faithful at worship to the barking of dogs. In order to underline the contrast between authentic 'Pai Marire' and fraudulent 'Hauhau', the latter appears in quotation marks throughout Clark's study.

While some Hauhau did use Pai Marire as a name to describe the faith, there is no document in Maori which shows that Te Ua did so. He called the faith te karakia Hauhau, 'the Hauhau faith'.⁴ In the meetings recorded in the Ua Gospel Notebook he used 'Hauhau' as a name for the

1. Cowan, 1922, Vol 2. p3

2. Babbage, 1937, p19

3. Winks, R.W., 'The Doctrine of Hauhauism', in JPS Vol 62. (1953) pp199-236.

4. Te Ua to Parris, 14 Jun 1866 AJHR 1866 A-No.8, p10, No. 11.

faithful. The name has been shown to derive from Te Hau, the Wind, which was the source of prophecy in the faith. Hauhau therefore, has been restored in this study as the proper name for the faith.

APPENDIX 2SAMPLE CODES OF MAORI LAWS

The perception of sexual conduct as a major social need in Maori society in the 1850s and 1860s is reflected in the number of articles in surviving law codes which are addressed to the subject.

A brief King Movement code of laws written in 1857 had addressed two of its four articles to the problem, - 'cursing, tapu, plural marriage and concubinage - all these customs are set aside'.¹ A more developed set of Kingite laws devoted four out of eleven to the regulation of relationships between the sexes. Most of the remaining articles are procedural. One of them is included as an example of their flavour, and as a reminder of difficulties runanga faced in the enforcement of regulations:

1. If a man commits adultery with the wife of another man, and he himself is a married man, they are both restricted by a vow. Therefore that man must give to the man whose wife she is, 50 pounds and both he and the woman must pay the court. It is for the judge to decree their fine to the court.
2. If the woman offends twice, she must pay; if a third time, again she must pay. But she will not be made to pay in that manner on the fourth offence - the payment to the woman's husband must cease, but it is for the judge to decree their forfeit to the court.
3. If a man uses his hand to push the wife of another man, the law will decree the forfeit. If they use their fists, it is for the court to set their forfeit; it is for the judge to pronounce it.
4. (The husband of this woman should not be unhappy about this payment because he will never collect a fine for the bare hand. This is a very good thing because the

1.

law is your chief which will look after you and raise you to chiefly status out of all your troubles).

5. If a man commits an offence he is to be carried before the judges, the offence laid bare, and the forfeit decreed. If he objects it is for the judge to discuss it with another judge. If he still objects, it is for them to discuss it with a third. If he objects to them, they are to discuss it with the Council. If he objects to the Council, then his property should be plundered.²

This code was circulated by Hapimana Tireo in 1862 in the hope of standardising the judgements of the Taranaki Councils. Te Ua was in correspondence with Hapimana and like him was the leader of a runanga. Te Ua may well have known of these laws.

Two years later a code of laws was found when the Kingite pa of Paterangi in the Waikato was taken by the troops. The code contained 33 articles, and 15 of them dealt with sexual relationships. The code is headed 'The lashing together of the laws for the land which is called New Zealand'. It is presented here in its entirety because it gives an incomparable picture of the social concerns of Maoris in the 1860s, and of the kind of attempts which were being made to deal with them:

1. The land must be held. Do not give it to the Pakeha.
2. Cease murdering. It must be stopped lest it be you who is the penalty.
3. Cease witchcraft between one man and another lest it be you who is the penalty.
4. Do not make random attacks on Pakehas and strangers lest blood should flow. You will pay the penalty; the judge will summon you.

2. Hapimana Tireo, 21 Apr 1862, Atkinson papers, MS papers 1187 : A-E (ATL).

5. Do not rise up to harm another man without cause. You will be ordered to pay the penalty because it was you who acted without cause. The judge will decree 20 pounds.
6. An older brother is not to rise up to harm his younger brother lest the Law fall upon him. The judge will pronounce [on this].
7. Tribes are to cease joining the fights of another tribe without cause; that tribe can deal with its own trouble.
8. Cease the practice of having a tohunga make Maori incantations in the porch as if someone is dead. If it is persisted with, there will be a fine for you of 10 pounds.
9. Put an end to fighting between a man and his wife lest you break the law.
10. Cursing is not to be reciprocated. Tapu must be stopped.
11. Do not take the goods of another man Maori-fashion, or his daughter of anything else. Rather take them according to the King's Law. If one takes them Maori-fashion then he tramples the prized possessions of Right, and the law will fall upon him. The judge will order the payment of 2 pounds.
12. People should cease persisting with tattooing of the chin or arm now we are in the presence of the Laws. If you do it, the judge will fine you 25 pounds.
13. Cease detaining the tribes living as captives with another tribe, lest we be judged by God. See Acts 7 : 7.

14. Peaceably return the land of a man which is wrongly held by another man. But as for the land which is properly left to another man - it would never be right to return that, because it is properly held.
15. The lands must be given up [to their rightful owners]. It is for the Law to investigate what is right - whether it belongs to Aporo or Te Tatana. Aporo must live peaceably within his boundaries and Tatana within his boundaries. They must not be jealous or evil towards each other.
16. Let the proceedings of the deliberating judges be fitting now that we are in the presence of the Laws of the King. Consider Leviticus 19 : 5.
17. Put an end to the desecration of the sabbath lest the Law fall upon you. You will be fined - the judge will pronounce it.
18. If a man commits adultery with a married woman: 50.00 pounds.
19. If a man fornicates with an unmarried woman: if the parents think they are married and they are just sleeping together, it is considered there is no Law about that. But the fine laid down for [breaking] their word is 50.00 pounds.
20. A man is not to make improper advances to married women lest the law fall upon you. The judge is to order 15/-.
21. Maori women are to cease giving themselves to Pakehas to sleep with. A fine of 14.00 pounds will be demanded for her father. If the woman persists, she must be jailed.
22. Cease the practice of men having sexual relations with very small girls. When you clearly see she is very small, object strongly. If the man is behaving treacherously, take him away to jail.

23. Men are not to have unnatural sexual relationships.
This is a very evil matter: look at the two strongholds which were destroyed for this perversion. For if a man acts like that now he will bring trouble on all the people. The judge will deal with him.
24. A man is not to take his own sister as a wife for himself, or his aunt lest you offend against the law.
25. Cease the practice of plural marriage, or you will have trouble.
26. If the case should be that an unmarried man sins with another unmarried man they must cling to the faith and to the provision of the Law.
27. A man must not persist in double marriage now that we are in the presence of Law, because if they are unfaithful they will never be fined.
28. Stop false accusation against people - Paul has done wrong to Mary, lest Paul be commanded to pay up he keeps it to himself. That man has offended against the Law, and the judge will pronounce a fine of 6.00 pounds.
29. A man is not to go and steal a married woman; when she is overcome by sleep, he creeps up on her, lest the judge is on duty. You will pay for this: it is for the judge to pronounce it.
30. A man should not hide an offence, if you should see a certain man committing adultery with another man's wife, lest the Law fall upon you. Rather you should make it known - regardless of whether he is a relative or a stranger. If you make it known, 6.00 pounds of the fine should be split off for the one who saw it.
31. Women are to be married as children. Do not leave them while they are small. They are born, they die, and that seed is lost. But if they are adult - if they are 18 years old that is alright. Remember the seed

of each species is increased by cultivation. But there are many who are abused by child marriage.

32. Do not let good men marry bad women - that is do not mix good thoughts with bad lest your thoughts be dragged into the wrong path. It is the same for good women with bad mén.

33. Do not steal one shilling. A fine will be ordered - you will have to produce 2 shillings.³

3. Shortland papers, misc Maori MSS. (DuHo).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

1. Official Government Publications

Appendices to the House of Representatives 1861 to 1867.

2. Manuscripts

(i) Official (All held in the National Archives, Wellington).

Agent for the General Government, Auckland.
Inwards letters, 1865-1867, AGG-A 1/1-2.

Agent for the General Government, Hawkes Bay.
General Inwards Correspondence, 1865-1871, AGG-HB 1/1-3.

Miscellaneous re Maori affairs and land purchases, AGG-HB 7/2e.

Kereopa's farewell and interview with Bishop Williams, Jan 1872, AGG-HB 7/2h.

Governor
Miscellaneous Inwards Correspondence, 1862-6, G 13/2-3.

Military Letters, 1864-1866, G 16/3-4, 7-11.

Internal Affairs
Colonial Secretary Inwards Correspondence 1862-1867, IA 1/197-245.

Papers relating to the recovery of the head of Capt. Lloyd, IA 14/23.

Justice Department

Resident Magistrate's Court, Wanganui.
Outwards Letterbook, 1863-4, JC-WG4.
Outwards Letterbook, 1864-5, JC-WG5.
(White Letterbooks).

Maori Affairs

Register [Maori] Inwards letters, 1865, MA 2/41.
Civil Commissioner's Letterbook, 1862-5, MA-NA 1/2.

Wellington Province

General Inwards Correspondence, 1856-66, WP 3/2-19.

(ii) Private

APORO, Maori drawings, 1867 (ATL).

BAKER, C., Journal 1827-1867 (AIL).

CHAPMAN, Thomas, Letters and Journals from Thomas Chapman to the Church Missionary Society, London. (part of original MS in ATL - typescript) (AP).

Letters from Maketu, 1855-60. (AP).

Letters to H.P. Smith, 1857-65. (AP).

Journal 1830-69. (AIL).

COWAN, J., 'Maori War Flags', 1892 (ATL).

FEDARB, E., Diary NZMSS 375 (AP).

SIR GEORGE GREY COLLECTION. (AP).

HAUHAU LETTERS, MS 4243, British Museum

'TE KARAKIA O TE HAUHAU' [n.d.], 12 pp, (DuHo).

[KINGITANGA MS] 'He ohaki no te Kingitanga o Potatau Te Wherowhero, o Tawhiao, 1860-70'. [Some pronouncements in the time of Kings Potatau and Tawhiao concerning the Maori King Movement, 1860-70]. (AU).

DONALD McLEAN PAPERS (ATL).

MANING, F.E., Letters to J. Webster NZMS 4/22 (AP).

MANTELL, W.B.D., PAPERS (ATL).

MAUNSELL, G., Letters to the Church Missionary Society, (AP).

[POLYNESIAN SOCIETY PAPERS] - A.S. ATKINSON papers, (ATL).

He Poropititanga na Tawhiao i Taranaki i te tau 1864'
[Prophecies by Taiwhiao in Taranaki in the year 1864], Te Rangituatahi Te Kawana MS No. 3, pp 6-71. (AU).

SHEPHERD, I., Letters and papers dealing with native affairs, Taupo, TS (AU).

EDWARD SHORTLAND PAPERS (DuHo).

S. PERCY SMITH. Letterbooks 1861-5 (ATL).

STRICKLAND, E., 'Diary of the campaign in the Wanganui and Taranaki districts round the eastern side of Mount Egmont in the years 1865-66. Major General Chute commanding the forces'. (ATL).

TAYLOR, B.K., Letters 1861-78, Church Missionary Society Microfilm (ATL).

TAYLOR, R. Journal, Vols. 12-12A, 1862-68 TS (ATL).

TAYLOR, Richard and Basil. Letters to Church Missionary Society 1866-9, TS (ATL).

TE KOOTI RIKIRANGI TE TURUKI. Prayerbook, Photocopy. (ATL).

TITOKOWARU. Letter to his Tribe, 25 June 1868 (ATL).

UMBRA (Pseud.), Pai Marireism and Popery Defined, Auckland, 1865. (Grey Collection), (AU).

WARRE, H.J., Confidential Letterbooks and Diaries. (ATL).

JOHN WHITE PAPERS (ATL).

WILLIAMS, JANE, Journals, 1840-1870 (ATL).

WILLIAMS, WILLIAM, Journals 1825-1876 (ATL).

WILSON, J.A., The Letters of John A. Wilson. (AP).

3. Contemporary Newspapers and Periodicals.

Daily Southern Cross, 1864-1866.

Good Words, 1 October 1865.

Hawkes Bay Herald, 1864-66.

Karere Maori, 1859.

The Monthly Review, 1877.

The New Zealander, 1864-1865.

Taranaki Herald, 1862-1866.

Taranaki News, 1862-1867.

Te Hokioi a Nui-Tireni, 1862-63.

Te Waka Maori, 1862-1866.

Wellington Independent, 1864-1866.

B. SECONDARY SOURCES

1. Books

ALEXANDER, J.E., Bush Fighting, Illustrated by remarkable actions and incidents of the Maori Wars in New Zealand, London, 1873.

BABBAGE, S.B., Hauhauism. An Episode in the Maori Wars, 1863-1866, Wellington, 1937.

BEST, E., Maori Religion and Mythology, (Reprint) Wellington, 1976.

The Maori, 2 Vols. Wellington, 1924.

The Maori as he was, Wellington, 1934.

Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist, Wellington, 1925.

BINNEY, J., CHAPLIN, G., WALLACE, C., Mihaia, Wellington, 1979.

BINNEY, J., The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall, Auckland, 1968.

[British and Foreign Bible Society]
Ko te Paipera Tapu, [Holy Bible], Wellington, 1968.

BUCK, SIR PETER, The Coming of the Maori, (Reprint), Wellington, 1970.

BUDDLE, T., The Maori King Movement, Auckland, 1860.

BUICK, T.L., Old Manawatu, Palmerston North, 1903.

BURRIDGE, K.O.L., New Heaven New Earth. A Study of Millenarian Activities, Oxford, 1971.

CARKEEK, W.C., The Kapiti Coast, Wellington, 1966.

CHAPMAN, R. & SINCLAIR, K., (eds.), Studies of a Small Democracy, Auckland, 1963.

[Church of England]., The Annotated Book of Common Prayer, (J.H. Blunt ed.), London, 1893.

CLARK, P., Hauhau, Auckland, 1975.

COWAN, J., The Adventures of Kimble Bent. A Story of Wild Life in the New Zealand Bush, London, 1911.

Sir Donald McLean, Wellington, 1940.

The Maori, Yesterday and Today, Auckland, 1930.

- COWAN, J., The New Zealand Wars. A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period, 2 Vols., Wellington, 1923.
- DALTON, B.J., War and Politics in New Zealand 1855-1870, Sydney, 1967.
- DAVIS, C.O.B., Maori Mementos: A series of addresses by the native people to Sir George Grey, Auckland, 1855.
- FIRTH, R., Economics of the New Zealand Maori, 2nd ed., Wellington, 1959.
- FOX, W., The War in New Zealand, London, 1866.
- GIFFORD, W.H., & WILLIAMS, H.B., A Centennial History of Tauranga, (reprint), Christchurch, 1976.
- GORST, J.E., The Maori King or the story of our quarrel with the natives of New Zealand, 2nd ed. (K. Sinclair ed.), Hamilton, 1959.
- GRACE, J.Te H., Tuwharetoa. The History of the Maori People of the Taupo District, Wellington, 1959.
- GRACE, M.S., A sketch of the New Zealand War, London, 1899.
- GRACE, T.S., A pioneer missionary among the Maoris 1850-1879, (ed. jointly by S.J. Britten, G.F. and A.V. Grace), Palmerston North, 1928.
- GREY, Sir George., Polynesian Mythology, (3rd ed.), Christchurch, 1956.
- GUDGEON, T.W., Reminiscences of the War in New Zealand, London, 1879.
- HADFIELD, O., The New Zealand Wars: the second year of "One of England's little wars", London, 1861.
- HARRISON, J.F.K.C., The Second Coming: popular millenallanism 1780-1850, London, 1979.
- A Poverty Bay Survivor, [Hawthorne, J.], A Dark Chapter from New Zealand History, Napier, 1869.
- HENDERSON, J. McL., Ratana. The Man, The Church, The Political Movement, 2nd ed., Wellington, 1972.
- HORTON, D., Christian Deviations: The Challenge of the Sects, London, 1954.
- HOUSTON, J., Maori Life in Old Taranaki, Wellington, 1965.

- JOHANSEN, J. Prytz., Studies in Maori Rites and Myths, Copenhagen, 1958.
- The Maori and his Religion in its Non-ritualistic Aspects, Copenhagen, 1954.
- JONES, A., The Jerusalem Bible, (gen. ed.), London, 1966.
- KAWHARU, I.H. (ed.), Conflict and Compromise: Essays on the Maori since colonisation; Wellington, 1975.
- KING, M. Te Puea: a biography, Auckland 1977.
- LATERNARI, V., The Religions of the Oppressed, New York, 1963.
- MACKAY, J.A., Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, N.I., N.Z., Gisborne, 1949.
- MCLEAN, M. & ORBELL, M., Traditional Songs of the Maori, Wellington, 1975.
- MAIR, G., The Story of Gate Pa, Tauranga, 1926.
- MANING, F.E., Old New Zealand: A tale of the Good Old Times, London, 1863.
- MARSDEN, SAMUEL, - The letters and journals of Samuel Marsden, J.R. Elder (ed.), Dunedin, 1932.
- MARTIN, Lady, Our Maoris, London, 1884.
- MARTIN, W., The Taranaki Question, London, 1861.
- MEADE, H., A ride through the disturbed districts of New Zealand; together with some account of the South Sea Islands, London, 1871.
- MILLER, J.O., Early Victorian New Zealand, Oxford, 1958.
- NGATA, Sir A.T., (ed.), Nga Moteatea, 3 vols., Wellington, 1959.
- NIHONIHO, T., Narrative of the Fighting on the East Coast 1865-71, Wellington, 1913.
- OLIVER, W.H., The Story of New Zealand, London, 1960.
- OLIVER, W.H. & THOMSON, J.M., Challenge and Response, Gisborne, 1971.
- OPPENHEIM, R., Maori Death Customs, Wellington, 1973.
- OWENS, J.M.R., Prophets in the Wilderness, Auckland, 1974.

- POCOCK, J.G.A., (ed.), The Maori and New Zealand Politics, Auckland, 1965.
- PORTER, F., (ed.), The Turanga journals 1840-1850: Letters and journals of William and Jane Williams, missionaries to Poverty Bay, Wellington, 1974.
- SCHOLEFIELD, G.H., Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 2 vols., Wellington, 1940.
- SCHWIMMER, E., The World of the Maori, Wellington, 1966.
- SCOTT, R.G. (Dick), Ask that Mountain; the story of Parihaka, Auckland, 1975.
- The Parihaka Story, Auckland, 1954.
- SELWYN, Sarah Harriet., Reminiscences 1809-1867, Enid A. Evans, (ed.), (AIL) 1961.
- SHORTLAND, E., Maori Religion and Mythology, London, 1882.
- Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders, (2nd ed.), London, 1856.
- SINCLAIR, K., A History of New Zealand, (rev. ed.), Harmondsworth, 1969.
- The Origins of the Maori Wars, (2nd ed.), Wellington, 1961.
- SMITH, Percy, S., Maori Wars of the Nineteenth Century, Christchurch, 1910.
- SORRENSON, M.P.K., Maori and European since 1870, Auckland, 1967.
- STACK, J.W., Early Maoriland Adventures, A.H. Reed (ed.), Dunedin, 1935.
- STAFFORD, D.M. Te Arawa: A History of the Arawa People, Wellington, 1967.
- STOKES, E., A History of Tauranga County, Palmerston North, 1980.
- Pai Marire - The Niu at Kuranui, Occasional Paper No. 6. University of Waikato, 1980.
- STOWELL, H.M., Maori and English Tutor, Wellington, [n.d.]
- STRONG, J., Strong's Concordance of the Bible, Nashville, 1980.

- TAYLOR, R., Te Ika A Maui or New Zealand and its Inhabitants, London, 1855.
- The Past and Present of New Zealand, London, 1868.
- VAYDA, A.P., Maori Warfare, Wellington, 1960.
- Ward, A., A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand, Auckland, 1973.
- WARDS, I., The Shadow of the Land: a study of British policy and racial conflict in New Zealand, 1832-1852, Wellington, 1968.
- WILLIAMS, H.W., A Dictionary of the Maori Language, (7th ed.), Wellington, 1971.
- WILLIAMS, J.A., Politics of the New Zealand Maori, Seattle, 1969.
- WILLIAMS, William and Jane, Turanga Journals, Wellington, 1974.
- WILLIAMS, W., A dictionary of the New Zealand language and Concise Grammar, Paihia, 1844.
- WILLIAMS, W. Leonard, East Coast (N.Z.) Historical Records, Gisborne, 1932.
- WILSON, B.R., Magic and the Millenium, St Albans, 1973.
- WILSON, O., War in the Tussock, Wellington, 1961.
- WINIATA, M., The Changing Role of the Leader in Maori Society, Auckland, 1967.
- WORSLEY, P., The Trumpet Shall Sound, (2nd ed.), London, 1968.
- WRIGHT, H.M., New Zealand 1769-1840, Cambridge, Mass. 1959.

2. Articles

- ANDERSON, J., 'Maori Religion', in JPS, Vol 49 No.4 1940, p513.
- BEST, E., 'Maori Magic: Notes upon Witchcraft, Magic Rites, and various superstitions as practised or believed in by the Old-Time Maori', in Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute, 34:69-98, 1902.

- BEST, E., 'Notes on the Art of War' in JPS, Vols 11, 12 and 13, 1902-4, Passim. IX Parts.
- BIGGS, B., 'Maori Marriage an Essay in Reconstruction', Polynesian Society, Wellington. 1960.
- BINNEY, J., 'Christianity and the Maoris to 1840: A Comment', in NZJH Vol 3, 1969 , pp143-65.
- 'Papahurihia: Some thoughts on Interpretation', in JPS Vol 75, 1966, pp321-31.
- GÄDD, B., 'The teachings of Te Whiti O Rongomai, 1831-1907', in JPS, LXXV. 4, 1966, pp445-57.
- GREENWOOD, W., 'The Upraised Hand or The Spiritual Significance of the Ringatu Faith', in JPS Vol 56, 1942, ppl-81.
- GREY, Sir George, 'Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna', Wellington Board of Ethnological Research, 1928.
- HAMILTON, L., 'Affair at Opotiki', in New Zealand Heritage, Vol 3, 32, 1972, pp874-78.
- 'The Followers of the Prophet', in New Zealand Heritage, Vol 3, 32, 1972, pp869-73.
- JACKSON, M., 'Literacy, communications and social change', in I.H. Kawharu (ed.), Conflict and Compromise, Wellington, 1960.
- JONES, P. Te H., 'King Potatau: an account of the life of Potatau Te Wherowhero, the first Maori King', Polynesian Society, Wellington, 1960.
- 'Maori Kings', in The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties: A symposium (E. Schwimmer ed.), Auckland, 1968, ppl32-73.
- LYONS, D.P., 'An Analysis of Three Maori Prophet Movements', in I.H. Kawharu (ed.), Conflict and Compromise, Wellington, 1975.
- MISUR, G.Z., 'From Prophet Cult to Established Church', in I.H. Kawharu (ed.), Conflict and Compromise, Wellington, 1975.
- NGATA, Sir A.T., and SUTHERLAND, I.L.G., 'Religious Influences', in The Maori People Today: A General Survey, (I.L.G. Sutherland ed.), Wellington, 1940.
- ORBELL, M., 'The Family in Traditional Maori Society', in Families in New Zealand Society, P.G.Koopman-Boyden (ed.), Wellington, 1978.

- OWENS, J.M.R., 'Christianity and the Maoris to 1840', in NZJH, Vol 2, 1968, pp18-40.
- PARR, C.J., 'Before the Pai Marire', in JPS Vol 76, 1967, pp35-46.
- 'Maori Literacy 1843-1867' in JPS, Vol 72, 1963, pp211-34.
- 'A Missionary Library. Printed attempts to instruct the Maori, 1815-1845', JPS, Vol 70, 1961, pp429-50.
- PARSONSON, A., 'The expansion of a competitive society: a study in nineteenth-century Maori social history', NZJH, XIV.1 1980, pp45-60.
- PARSONSON, G.S., 'The Literate Revolution in Polynesia', JPS, Vol 2, 1967, pp39-57.
- PHILLIPS, W.J., 'The cult of Nakahi', JPS, LXXV.1 1966, p107.
- SORRENSON, M.P.K., 'Maori and Pakeha' in The Oxford History of New Zealand, (W.H. Oliver & B.R. Williams eds.), Wellington, 1981.
- 'The Maori King Movement, 1858-1885' in Studies of a Small Democracy, (R. Chapman & K. Sinclair eds.), Auckland, 1963, pp33-55.
- WARD, A., 'The origins of the Anglo-Maori wars: A reconsideration', NZJH, 1.2, 1967, pp148-70.
- WILSON, O., 'Papahurihia, First Maori Prophet', in JPS, Vol 74, 1965 pp473-83.
- WINKS, R.W., 'The Doctrine of Hau-Hauism', in JPS Vol 62, 1953, pp199-236.

3. Unpublished Theses

- CLOVER, G.A.M., 'Christianity Among the South Taranaki Maoris 1840-53: A Study of the Wesleyan Mission at Waimate South'. Auckland University, 1973.
- GIBSON, J.A., 'Religious Organisation among the Maoris of New Zealand after 1860', University of California, 1959.
- JACKSON, M., 'Literacy, Communications and Social Change: The Maori Case, 1830-70', Auckland University, 1967.
- McLEAN, M., 'Maori Chant. A Study in Ethnomusicology', Otago University, 1965.

PARSONSON, A., 'He whenua te utu (the payment will be land)', Canterbury University, 1978.

'Te mana o te Kingitanga Maori: a study of Waikato-Ngatimaniapoto relations during the struggle for the King Country, 1878-84', Canterbury University, 1972.

WEBSTER, P.J. 'Maungapohatu: The Mountain of the Lord', Victoria University, 1971.